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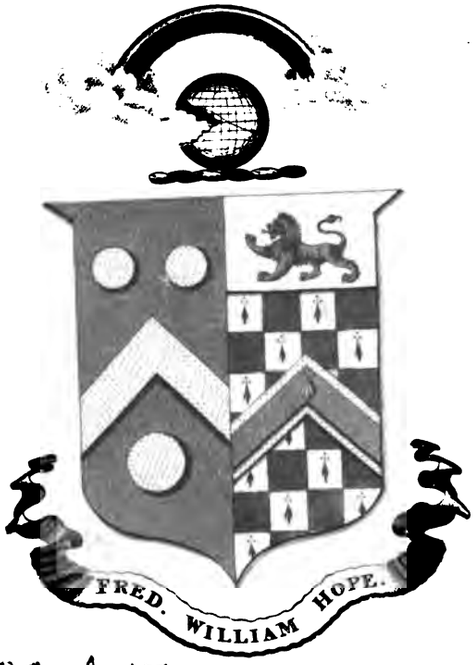

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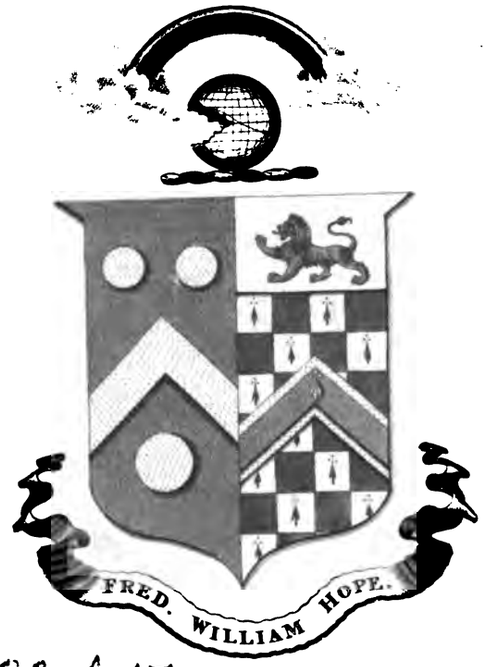

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ÆGYPTIACA:

OR,

OBSERVATIONS

ON CERTAIN

ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF POMPEY'S PILLAR

ELUCIDATED.

PART II.

ABDOLLATIF'S ACCOUNT OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT,

WRITTEN IN ARABIC A. D. 1203.

Tranſlated into Engliſh, and illuſtrated with Notes.

BY

J. WHITE, D. D.

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;

Editor of Timour's Inſtitutes in the Perſian; of the Philoxenian Verſion of the New Teſtament in the Syriac; of Abdollatif's Hiſtory of Egypt in the Arabic; Bampton Lecturer for the Year 1784; and late Publiſher of a Critical Edition of the Goſpels in Greek; and of a Diateſſaron in the ſame Language, for the Uſe of Academical Students.

PART I.

OXFORD:

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AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS IN OXFORD.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN LORD ELDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

IN TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT

FOR HIS TALENTS, CHARACTER, AND VIRTUES,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

J. WHITE.

PREFACE.

THAT magnificent PILLAR, which is the chief ſubject of the following Inquiry, may be ranked with the moſt illuſtrious remains of ancient art. It has excited the attention of the Traveller, employed the pen of the Hiſtorian, and exerciſed the ſkill of the Antiquary: and all theſe have united in holding it forth to the notice and admiration of mankind. But while the object of curioſity is admitted to be intereſting, the attempt to write after ſo much has been written, may be deemed an idle preſumption: and the ſceptical inquirer, who has in vain ſought for ſatisfactory information from thoſe witneſſes who have viſited the ſpot, will perhaps diſdain that which is offered him from the receſſes of an Univerſity. To obviate ſuch a prejudice, (if any ſuch ſhould be entertained,) let me here explicitly inform the Reader, that in the enſuing pages he will ſee no paradox advanced to contradict and perplex the concurrent teſtimony of ages; but he will find that the commonly received accounts have ſome material defects to be ſupplied, and ſome

grōſs errors to be corrected, and that ſuch corrections have been made, it is hoped, upon the authority of unexceptionable evidence.

To the knowledge of this evidence, though I have hitherto forborne to produce it, I was led more than twenty years ago by the general courſe of my Oriental ſtudies, and particularly by my attention to a work which ought indeed to have been publiſhed long ſince, but which I have at laſt had the ſatisfaction to ſubmit to the conſideration of the learned. The peruſal of Arabic authors, who lived in Egypt, and wrote at a time when that country was ſingularly eminent in arms and letters, furniſhed me with valuable materials for illuſtrating this ſplendid Monument of Antiquity: and if by their aſſiſtance I ſhall now be enabled to clear up the doubts that have ariſen, and to aſcertain (on highly probable grounds) the Time of its erection and the name of its Founder, it may not be preſumptuous to hope, that my labour will be repaid by the favourable regard of liberal and enlightened inquirers.

But it is difficult to purſue this inquiry, without pauſing for a while over thoſe ſcenes, which will unavoidably preſent themſelves to view. In approaching this great Object of curioſity, we enter upon a land of wonders; in its hiſtory and fate diſtinguiſhed from all others,

and ſuggeſting matter of the moſt ſerious and awful reflection. For what country may compare with Egypt in early renown for power, and wealth, and ſcience, when other nations were fed with the produce of her ſoil, and enriched with the treaſures of her wiſdom? Where elſe can we behold ſuch ſtupendous works of art; which, no leſs in deſign than in magnitude, ſeem almoſt to exceed the ability of human agents? And, laſtly, where ſhall we find a degeneracy like that of the preſent race of Egyptians; or where an ancient inheritance of greatneſs and glory, which has been ſo totally waſted and loſt?

Yet the various revolutions, under which Egypt repeatedly ſunk, were not always ſo injurious and deſtructive. The conqueſt of Alexander was followed by the eſtabliſhment of a new metropolis; an eſtabliſhment, that enriched the country with commerce, and adorned it with the ſumptuous elegance of Grecian art: for the city of Alexander, anſwering the grand conceptions of her Founder, became at once the centre of trade and the ſeat of learning; and in the day of her proſperity exceeded the politeneſs of Athens, and rivalled the greatneſs of Rome.

Nor was the condition of Egypt, while under the dominion of her Saracen maſters, continually declining or

unproſperous. Within this period ſhe reſumed for a while ſome portion of her original ſplendor: and the epocha is remarkable. She was flouriſhing, learned, and polite, whilſt Europe was immerſed in the groſſeſt ignorance and barbariſm: and what ancient fables reported of her, that the deities had concealed themſelves there, from earth-born rebellion and violence, appeared as an allegory, which was now verified, when arts and letters found there an aſylum from that inundation of barbarians, which overwhelmed all the kingdoms of Europe.

It may be pertinent to remark, that the two periods here ſelected for notice have a near connection with the ſubject of the following Diſcourſe. The firſt was diſtinguiſhed by the ERECTION OF THE PILLAR, and the ſecond by the EARLIEST, and perhaps the BEST, ACCOUNTS recorded of it.

To deſcend lower in the revolutions of Egypt, is an ungrateful and melancholy taſk. Her glory, which had long been clouded, was now haſtily declining; and it finally ſet with the Sultan SALADIN: after whoſe death there followed ſuch waſteful and barbarous wars, as left behind them not the monuments of men or of conquerors, but rather the havoc of wild beaſts and deſtroyers.

We now therefore behold in Egypt the awful ſpectacle of a kingdom in ruins; the ruins not merely of temples, and cities, and the mighty efforts of labour and art; but of ſcience, and the human mind itſelf, of which thoſe works were but the imperfect and periſhable memorials. Surely then, from this view of a nation once ſo glorious, and in the eye of human foreſight ſo guarded againſt the ſtroke of calamity, but now ſo humbled and hopeleſs, we are taught to look beyond the natural cauſes of ſuch events, to that Being from whom they iſſue. Concerning this kingdom God was pleaſed long ſince to declare his purpoſe[a]. And among all the examples that hiſtory can ſhew, there is not a more ſignal object than Egypt, thus lying under the Divine interdiction, and left as a fearful witneſs of his eternal preſcience and power.

But an attempt has been made of late to raiſe this country from its degraded and fallen condition, to reſtore it to liberty and independence, and replace it in its ſtation among the kingdoms of the earth. Or rather, let us ſay, that, under the pretence of conferring theſe unſolicited benefits, a people, regardleſs of every principle of moral propriety, and every law of civilized nations, has carried thither without provocation all the

[a] Ezek. xxx. and Newton on the Prophecies, Works, vol. i. p. 197.

miſeries and horrors of war. It is not improbable, that their hopes of ſucceſs in this atrocious and daring enterprize were encouraged by the reports of certain travellers of their own nation. Theſe men had gone through the land with the ſentiments of robbers and ſpies. They ſaw in its wealth an object of plunder, and in its weakneſs and diviſions the opportunities of eaſy acquiſition. To minds occupied with ſuch proſpects, the face of a country would appear little intereſting: the moſt intelligent of them looked with diſguſt on the faireſt features of Egypt. Volney aſcended the river from Roſetto to Cairo, and thus he deſcribes the Delta. "The ſcenery of the country offers lit-"tle variety. It has ſtill a few palm-trees, which "ſtand thinner as you advance—villages built with "mud walls, and of a ruinous appearance—a bound-"leſs flat, which, according to the different ſeaſons, is a "freſh water ſea, a miry fen, a green carpet, or a duſty "field—and on every ſide a diſtant horizon loaded with "vapours[b]." But although the *beauties* of the country failed of making an impreſſion, its *various produce* both

[b] "Quant au tableau de la campagne, il varie peu; ce ſont toujours des "palmiers iſolés ou réunis, plus rares à meſure que l'on avance; des vil-"lages bâtis en terre et d'un aſpect ruiné, une plaine ſans bornes, qui, ſelon "les ſaiſons, eſt une mer d'eau douce, un marais fangeux, un tapis de ver-"dure, ou un champ de pouſſière; de toutes parts, un horizon lointain, "vapoureux, où les yeux ſe fatiguent et s'ennuient." Tom. i. p. 10.

of art and nature was viewed with eager and avaricious eyes; and the PILLAR OF ALEXANDRIA was not omitted in the catalogue of premeditated plunder [c].

It may be amuſing to compare the different ideas which the appearance of the ſame country ſuggeſted to the French traveller and the Saracen conqueror. Upon the conqueſt of Egypt by Amru Ebn El Aas, the Khalif Omar wrote to him, requiring an account of the country, which Amru returned him at ſome length. The curious correſpondence is preſerved by Murtadi, from whom the following paſſage is extracted.

" La terre ne tarde point après la noirceur de ſon engrais, à ſe reveſtir de " vert, et à reſpandre une agreable odeur, tant qu'elle produit des tuyaux " et des feuilles et des eſpics, faiſant une belle monſtre et donnant une " bonne eſpérance ; la roſée l'abbreuvant d'enhaut, et l'humidité donnant " nourriture à ſes productions par bas.—Après cela, la terre eſtale ſes beau- " tés et fait parade de ſes graces, reſiouyſſant ſes habitans et les aſſeurant " de la recolte de ſes fruits pour leur nourriture—Elle paroiſt aujourd'hui " comme une terre poudreuſe, puis incontinent comme une mer bleuaſtre, " et comme une perle blanche, puis comme de la boue noire, puis comme " un tafetas vert, puis comme une broderie de diverſes couleurs, puis " comme une fonte d'or rouge." P. 283.

The luminous page of Gibbon is adorned with a portion of this letter, (vol. v. p. 347. 4to.) but his tranſlation is very looſe, and the *ſilver* and *emerald* that glitter in it are borrowed from ſome other Arabic authors, upon the credit of the conſul Maillet. See Lettres de MAILLET, p. 70.

[c] " J'ai ouï dire à Alexandrie que l'on avoit eu autrefois le projet de " tranſporter en France la Colonne que l'on y admire. Les Levantins et les " navigateurs Provençaux regardoient cette entrepriſe comme impraticable ; " ils oublioient, ou peut-être n'avoient-ils jamais ſu que cette maſſe de " granit avoit été tirée des carrières de Syène, c'eſt-à-dire, de plus de " deux cents lieues : ils ignoroient que Caïus-Céſar avoit fait venir d'E- " gypte à Rome un Obéliſque de cent coudées ou de vingt-cinq toiſes " de hauteur, et de huit coudées ou deux toiſes de diamètre : qu'Auguſte

This is the key to open the ſecret meaning of many of their obſervations. They not unfrequently enumerate all the articles of commerce [d], by which Egypt might become profitable to France. Its civil and military ſtate is expoſed; the expiring authority of the Porte; the ſmall number of Mamelukes; their con-

" voulut que Rome poſſédât auſſi les deux Obéliſques élevés à Héliopolis, " par Seſoſtris, et qui ont chacun cent vingt coudées de haut; que Con- " ſtantin ordonna le tranſport d'un autre Obéliſque, non moins conſidéra- " ble, et à la conſtruction duquel Ramaſsès, roi d'Egypte, avoit employé " deux mille hommes; ils ignoroient enfin que, de nos jours, Péterſbourg " a vu placer dans ſon ſein un rocher amené d'aſſez loin, et du poids de " trois millions de livres.

" Les grandes entrepriſes ſont les vrais monumens de la gloire des grandes " nations. Il ſeroit digne de celle qui, en peu d'années, a ſurpaſſé tout ce " que les Romains nous ont préſenté de faits héroïques, de s'approprier la " Colonne d'Alexandrie. S'il falloit pour cela des moyens extraordinaires, " le génie des ſciences, inſéparable de celui de la véritable gloire, eſt là " pour les tracer, et les arts qui s'élèvent auſſi avec le peuple qui les chérit, " ſauront les exécuter. Au milieu d'une des places de Paris, de celle de la " *Révolution*, par exemple, la Colonne ne pourroit manquer de produire " l'effet le plus majeſtueux. Une Statue coloſſale ſurmonteroit ſon chapi- " teau; ce ſeroit L'IMAGE DE LA LIBERTE: elle domineroit les palais " des dépoſitaires du pouvoir, et, par ſon attitude fière et impoſante, elle " ſeroit la terreur de quiconque oſeroit abuſer de l'autorité, pour tourmen- " ter ou trahir un peuple, de la puiſſance duquel elle ſeroit également un " emblême éternel."

This is the ſcheme of one of their late travellers, the half-learned, trifling, preſumptuous, and atheiſtical Sonnini, tom. i. p. 140. The ſame ſcheme of tranſporting the Pillar is ſuggeſted by Savary, Letter II.

[d] Sonnini, tom. i. ch. 14. tom. iii. ch. 39. et alibi.

tinual diſſenſions and feuds; the miſerable ſtate of their diſcipline; and their ridiculous ignorance of the art of war. On the other hand are repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the oppreſſed condition of the people; their ſtrength in labour, and fortitude in ſuffering; and, above all, the probability of their taking arms againſt their oppreſſors, whenever a favourable opportunity ſhall offer [e]. Now, if it ſhould be aſked, with what view all this has been done, One of the moſt acute and miſchievous of French travellers will ſupply us with an anſwer; not directly to the point indeed, but too plain to be miſtaken—" I have for ſome time entertained an " opinion," ſays Volney, " that NOTHING IS EASIER " THAN TO EFFECT IN ASIA A GREAT REVOLUTION " BOTH POLITICAL AND CIVIL [f]."

Let us however do juſtice to theſe unprincipled ſpoilers, and acknowledge, that they are not the firſt of their countrymen, who have entertained ideas of aggrandizing France at the expence of this devoted kingdom. In the beginning of this century, Maillet, the French conſul at Cairo, ſuggeſted a plan for removing the PILLAR to Paris. The ſcheme indeed was not perfectly honourable;

[e] Volney, tom. i. c. 10, 11, 12.

[f] " Ces deux exemples me rendent encore plus probable une conjecture " que j'avois deja formée, que rien n'eſt plus facile que d'opérer une grande " révolution politique et civile dans l'Aſie." Tom. i. p. 383. N.

for he was to obtain it under falſe pretences; and he had ſo far arranged the particulars in his own mind, as to give the details, and even ſtate the expences of the undertaking[s]. But *his* project was cheap and eaſy, compared with

[s] " Après l'idée que je viens de donner de ce monument, peut-on s'empê-
" cher d'avouer, que c'eſt le plus grand dommage du monde, qu'il ſoit entre
" les mains de gens, qui en connoiſſent ſi peu le mérite ? Pour moi, je ne
" puis me détacher d'une idée, qui m'eſt venue naturellement en le conſi-
" dérant. Cette magnifique Colomne m'a paru digne de ſoutenir une STA-
" TUE DU ROI. S'il eſt vrai qu'elle ait porté celle de Pompée, comme
" tradition le veut, à quel Héros pourroit-elle être mieux conſacrée ? Par
" où pourroit-on mieux conſerver, et même augmenter la gloire de ſa pre-
" mière deſtination ?

" Il ne ſeroit pas auſſi difficile, qu'on le penſe, d'obtenir cette Colomne
" de la Porte. Je ſuis perſuadé même qu'on en viendroit aiſément à bout,
" en s'y prenant avec adreſſe. La Cour pourroit d'abord la faire demander
" au Grand Seigneur par l'Ambaſſadeur de France, à qui certainement on
" ne refuſeroit pas cette grace. On obtiendroit enſuite de S. H. qu'elle char-
" geât un Capigi Bachi d'un ordre adreſſé au Bacha et aux autres puiſ-
" ſances de l'Egypte, par lequel elle déclareroit, qu'étant réſolue de faire
" venir cette pièce à Conſtantinople, et l'Ambaſſadeur de France ayant
" bien voulu ſe charger de la faire abattre, et de fournir des vaiſſeaux pour
" la tranſporter, ſa volonté ſeroit qu'à cette occaſion il fût donné toute
" ſorte de ſecours et de protection au Conſul de cette nation réſident au
" Caire, ſans pouvoir pour ce ſujet rien exiger de lui ſous quelque prétexte
" que ce fût. Pour prévenir juſqu'au plus léger ſoupçon, il ſeroit encore
" à propos qu'il fût ordonné au Bacha de faire délivrer au Conſul les ſom-
" mes, dont on auroit beſoin pour ſatisfaire aux dépenſes abſolument néceſ-
" ſaires. On auroit ſoin que ces ſommes fuſſent enſuite remiſes ſecrétement
" au tréſor de S. H. par l'Ambaſſadeur. Comme il eſt très-rare que les
" ordres du Grand Seigneur trouvent de la réſiſtance, comme d'ailleurs les
" Turcs et les Arabes ſont trop groſſiers pour eſtimer de pareilles curioſi-

another, which amuſed the vanity of his nation ſome years before. What this was, we may learn from a Dedication to Louis XIV. prefixed by the French tranſlator[h] to Murtadi's "Wonders of Egypt." The conqueſt of thoſe unknown regions, which conceal the ſource of the Nile, he ſlightly mentions as the preliminary ſtep to his deſign. "Your Majeſty then," continues he, "will cauſe "our admiration of the Pyramids to ceaſe, by a work "of importance and grandeur, and of a character en-"tirely different. That will be, (if our prayers are "heard, and our hopes fulfilled,) to turn the courſe of the "Nile, and withhold its fertilizing waters from Egypt, "till the preſent infidel inhabitants have abandoned it;

"tés, je ne doute point, ſi on s'y conduiſoit de cette ſorte, qu'ils ne s'em-"preſſaſſent à faciliter eux-mêmes l'exécution d'un deſſein, auquel ils ne "manqueroient pas de s'oppoſer de toutes leurs forces, s'ils ſçavoient "qu'on deſtinât cette pièce à une puiſſance étrangere. Je ſçai qu'il ſeroit "toujours néceſſaire de faire ici quelques libéralités; mais je ſuis en même "tems très-convaincu, qu'elles n'égaleroient pas à beaucoup près ce qu'il "en couteroit, ſi l'on étoit obligé d'obtenir leur conſentement au prix qu'y "mettroit infailliblement leur avarice inſatiable. Toute la dépenſe conſiſ-"teroit dans les frais du bâtiment deſtiné pour ce tranſport, et de l'entre-"tien des matelots, qui le monteroient. Du reſte je mets en fait que l'ex-"écution de ce projet ne couteroit pas plus de vingt mille écus au Roy-"aume. La France pourroit ſe vanter alors de poſſéder le plus rare mor-"ceau d'antiquité de cette eſpèce, qui ſubſiſte aujourd'hui dans le monde; "et le concours d'étrangers, que ce monument fameux y attireroit de "toutes les parties de l'Europe, la dédommageroit avec uſure de tout ce "qu'il en couteroit." MAILLET, tom. i. p. 147, 148.

[h] M. Pierre Vattier, King's Profeſſor of Arabic. Paris, 1666. 8vo.

" and to reſtore the ſtreams to their former channel, " when more worthy and lawful poſſeſſors ſhall arrive " to cultivate the country[i]." How little do the baniſhment of the Hugonots and the burning of the Palatinate appear, when compared with this grand and comprehenſive project of famine and extirpation!

But the land of Egypt, we truſt, will yet happily be delivered out of their hands; and the COLUMN, we fondly hope, is reſerved for a nobler and better fate, more ſuited to its ancient dignity and original office; being neither ſtolen by fraud to exalt *a vain-glorious Monarch*[k], who purſued no higher end in war than the gratification of ambition or revenge; nor yet ſeized by violence to exhibit *a dead Form of Liberty*[l] in that city, from whence her ſpirit and life have long ſince fled. If doomed to leave the ſoil where it was firſt erected,

[i] " Quand les François ſous les auſpices de Votre Majeſté, après avoir con- " quis les Indes, traverſeront les vaſtes provinces de l'Affrique—et qu'ils " aſſuietiront à Voſtre Empire les campagnes, où commence le cours du " Nil, qui ne peuvent eſtre que très-fécondes et très-eſtendues—Voſtre Ma- " jeſté fera ceſſer alors l'admiration des Pyramides par un ouvrage tout " autrement grand et important, qui ſera, ſi nos vœux ſont exaucés et nos " eſpérances accomplies, le détournement du cours de ce fleuve, par le " moyen duquel elle ravira ſes fécondes eaux à l'Egypte, iuſques à ce que " les Infidelles, qui la poſſedent auiourd'hui, l'ayent abandonnée; pour les " lui rendre enſuite, quand elle ſera en eſtat d'eſtre cultivée par de plus " dignes et plus légitimes poſſeſſeurs." *Epiſtre au Roy.*

[k] Louis XIV. See Note, pag. x.

[l] See Note *c*, pag. viii.

to what country would its poſſeſſors reſign it more gladly, than to that, whoſe People are the champions of the oppreſſed, and whoſe King is the protector of the weak? Or, if left to ſtand on its ancient baſis, why ſhould it not be dedicated by their willing gratitude as a memorial to future ages, and bear on its lofty ſummit another Sovereign, THE DELIVERER[m], in the view of that ſea, where his victorious arms avenged them of their enemies[n]?

[m] The firſt Ptolemy was ſurnamed SOTER, or THE DELIVERER, by the Rhodians, on account of the important ſuccours he afforded them againſt their enemies. This is intimated by Pauſanias, in his Ἀττικὰ, edit. KUHN. p. 20.—Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ὃν καλοῦσιν ὠφελίου, ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων. Ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαίοις σφίσιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπίκλησις ἄλλῳ· καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι, καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τῷ Λάγου, ΣΩΤΗΡΑ, παραδόντων Ῥωδίων τὸ ὄνομα.

[n] "We found means to get ourſelves hoiſted up, by ſlings and ropes, to "that Column, the moſt coloſſal in the known world. From the top of "its capital we diſcovered, to the ſouth, the Site of the lake *Mareotis*, at "preſent covered by the ſands of Libya; on the other ſide the ruins of "the whole extent of the city of the Arabs, and of the vaſt ſea, OF WHICH "OUR ENEMIES HAD MADE THEMSELVES MASTERS." NORRY'S *Account of the French Expedition to Egypt*, p. 29.

ÆGYPTIACA.

PART I.

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PART I.

SECT. I.

IT is a common ſubject of complaint among the teachers of youth, that the pupils confided to their care often come to them in a ſtate, compared with which ignorance itſelf is to be welcomed as the pledge of future excellence. For, having been previouſly educated on a ſyſtem fundamentally erroneous, they are incapable of receiving ſound and uſeful inſtruction, till they have renounced the prejudices imbibed from weak or miſguided maſters.

It is thus alſo, that whoever undertakes an inquiry like the preſent, will often have juſt cauſe to complain, that his progreſs is retarded, not ſo much by the natural difficulties of his path, however rugged it may be

deemed, as by obſtacles deliberately or heedleſsly accumulated by thoſe, who have before attempted to explore it. Much of his labour muſt be employed to correct the preconceived opinions of his readers; to eradicate many notions authorized, as they ſuppoſe, by teſtimony the moſt faithful, or arguments the moſt weighty; to combat ſometimes with names the moſt honoured and reſpected, and at others with thoſe that have been weakly idolized by the ſcioliſt, or craftily extolled by the blaſphemer. In both caſes, however, the true ground of complaint is, not the time or pains that are beſtowed, but the ungrateful nature of the work itſelf, which ſeldom finds any other recompenſe than ſlander or hatred; and which, though it may merit ſome degree of praiſe, when its object is the deſtruction of Error, yet it cannot aſpire to that fair and laſting fame, which rewards the eſtabliſhment of Truth.

In the commencement of my inquiry concerning that ſtupendous Column of Alexandria, with which the general voice of modern times has connected the name of Pompey, it is neceſſary to remark, that this connection, unheard of in the ages immediately ſucceeding his own, reſts only upon a dark and doubtful tradition, and receives no colour of probability from any authority of ancient hiſtory. Other remains of antiquity have been in like manner aſcribed to the celebrated rival of Cæſar. At the

Eaſtern mouth of the Boſphorus a fragment of uncertain age and character is called by his name[a], though ſtanding on a ſpot which he certainly never viſited, and which was never ſignalized by his arms. But by whom, it may be aſked, could the Alexandrian Column, a monument of ſuch extraordinary ſplendour and magnificence, have ever been erected in honour of Pompey? There is neither evidence nor probability, that it was raiſed by the weak and effeminate Prince[b], whom he had reſtored to the throne of Egypt. It is ſtill leſs likely to have been erected by the treacherous Boy[c], who, regardleſs of the

[a] "A votive Altar placed on the almoſt inacceſſible ſummit of that [rock] "on the European ſide is called, by a vulgar error, Pompey's Pillar." DALLAWAY's Conſtantinople, p. 149. "The ſmall round Altar called Pompey's "Pillar is ornamented with the *caput Bovis*, and feſtoons, and inſcribed "with the name of Caius Cæſar; and Gyllius conjectures, that a co-"lumn was there erected upon the antient Altar of Apollo, as its baſe." Note ib.

Sandys, who travelled into theſe regions in the year 1610, has given an engraving of this Pillar, to which he has annexed the following deſcription. [p. 40.] "Here, upon the top of a rock environed with the ſea, ſup-"poſed by ſome to be one of theſe [the Symplegades] if not too far re-"moved from a fellow to be ſo, ſtands a Pillar of white marble, called vul-"garly the Pillar of Pompey, the baſis whereof did bear theſe now worn "out characters:

DIVO. CÆSARI. AVGVSTO.
L. CLANNIDIVS.
L. F. CLA. PONTO.

[b] Ptolemy Auletes.

[c] The ſon of Ptolemy Auletes.

obligations of gratitude, was induced, from motives of the moſt refined but deteſtable policy, to murder the patron and benefactor of his family. Nor can we poſſibly ſuppoſe it to have been dedicated to the honour of this illuſtrious Roman by his more fortunate rival Cæſar, or any of his ſucceſſors in the empire. Diſregarding therefore a name, which apparently reſts on groundleſs tradition, and has its foundation only in vulgar error[d], let us endeavour to obtain ſome more ſatisfactory information, and to arrive at a concluſion, which Hiſtory may warrant, and Reaſon approve.

And here it evidently becomes an eſſential and leading object, to inquire at what period this ſtupendous Column was erected. For, whether it were the production of regal power and munificence; or were reared by a loyal community in gratitude to an imperial benefactor; whether it ſtood ſingle, and formed a whole by itſelf; or were a part only and appendage of ſome great

[d] "La fameuſe Colonne de Pompée eſt auprès d'Alexandrie: on ne ſait "pour quelle raiſon elle porte le nom de Pompée; je croirois volontiers "que c'eſt par quelque erreur populaire." MONTFAUCON, Supplem. tom. iii. p. 148.

"Cette grande et ſuperbe Colonne, que l'on voit hors de la porte de Ro-"ſette, eſt nommée la Colonne de Pompée; mais perſonne, je crois, ne "nous ſçauroit dire, d'où dérive cette dénomination. On n'ignore point, "que Céſar pleura la mort de ce grand Capitaine; mais qui nous dira, qu'il "lui ait érigé ce magnifique monument?" NORDEN, vol. i. p. 22.

edifice;—theſe are either ſubordinate queſtions, or would receive a ſatisfactory anſwer, if its age were once completely aſcertained. The elucidation of this point, therefore, has generally been the firſt aim of every author who has written upon the ſubject; and the attempt has given riſe to conjectures the moſt wild and extravagant. Paradoxical inquirers have diſagreed ſo widely reſpecting the age of the Column, that on the one hand its origin has been aſſigned to the ſecond century of the Chriſtian æra, and on the other to the remote and unknown period, which witneſſed the building of the Pyramids[e].

Of opinions claiming admiſſion by no better title than conjecture, I think it unneceſſary to ſpeak: my

[e] "Si, au milieu de ces incertitudes, qui, malgré les recherches ſavantes, "couvrent ſouvent de la même obſcurité le paſſé et l'avenir, je dois énoncer "mon opinion, je ſerois tenté de faire honneur de l'érection de la Colonne "d'Alexandrie aux temps anciens qui ont vu paroître tant de prodiges en "Egypte, à ces époques où des milliers d'hommes étoient employés, des "années entières, au tranſport de maſſes de pierres, dont le mouvement "ſembloit au-deſſus des efforts humains, et exiger ceux d'hommes extraor-"dinaires." SONNINI, tom. i. p. 139.

To judge of the probability of this notion, it will be ſufficient to recollect, that Alexandria was built only about three centuries before the Chriſtian æra: but he who adopts this opinion muſt believe, likewiſe, that ſo ſingular a monument of Grecian architecture was erected by the Egyptians before the introduction of Grecian arts into their country, and upon the ruins too of an Obeliſk ſtill covered with hieroglyphics, and probably once dedicated to the ſervice of their religion.

animadverſions will be confined to hypotheſes which profeſs to be founded on facts. If any one of theſe can ſtand the teſt of fair examination, my inquiry concerning the age of the Column is at an end. But if, on mature examination, they ſhall all appear to be unfounded, I ſhall myſelf, in the courſe of theſe obſervations, offer a new hypotheſis: and I hope ſo to interweave this particular inveſtigation with other ſubjects of literary diſcuſſion, as to afford the Reader ſome little entertainment, even though I ſhould fail to convince him with reſpect to the principal object of reſearch.

Among the numerous authors, who have attempted to determine the period, in which this Column was erected, there are three, whoſe opinions have particularly attracted the attention of the learned world; our countryman WORTLEY MONTAGU, BROTIER, and MICHAELIS. The ſentiments and arguments of each ſhall be examined in order, and, for the more perfect ſatisfaction of the Reader, exhibited, where it is neceſſary, in their own words.

J. Skippe Esq.r Del.t J. Storer Sculp.t

The Situation of Pompeys Pillar with respect to Alexandria.

" ART. XLII. *A Letter from* EDWARD WORTLEY MON-
" TAGU, *Esq. F. R. S. to* WILLIAM WATSON, *M. D.*
" *F. R. S. containing some new Observations on what*
" *is called* POMPEY'S PILLAR *in Egypt* *.

" Sir,

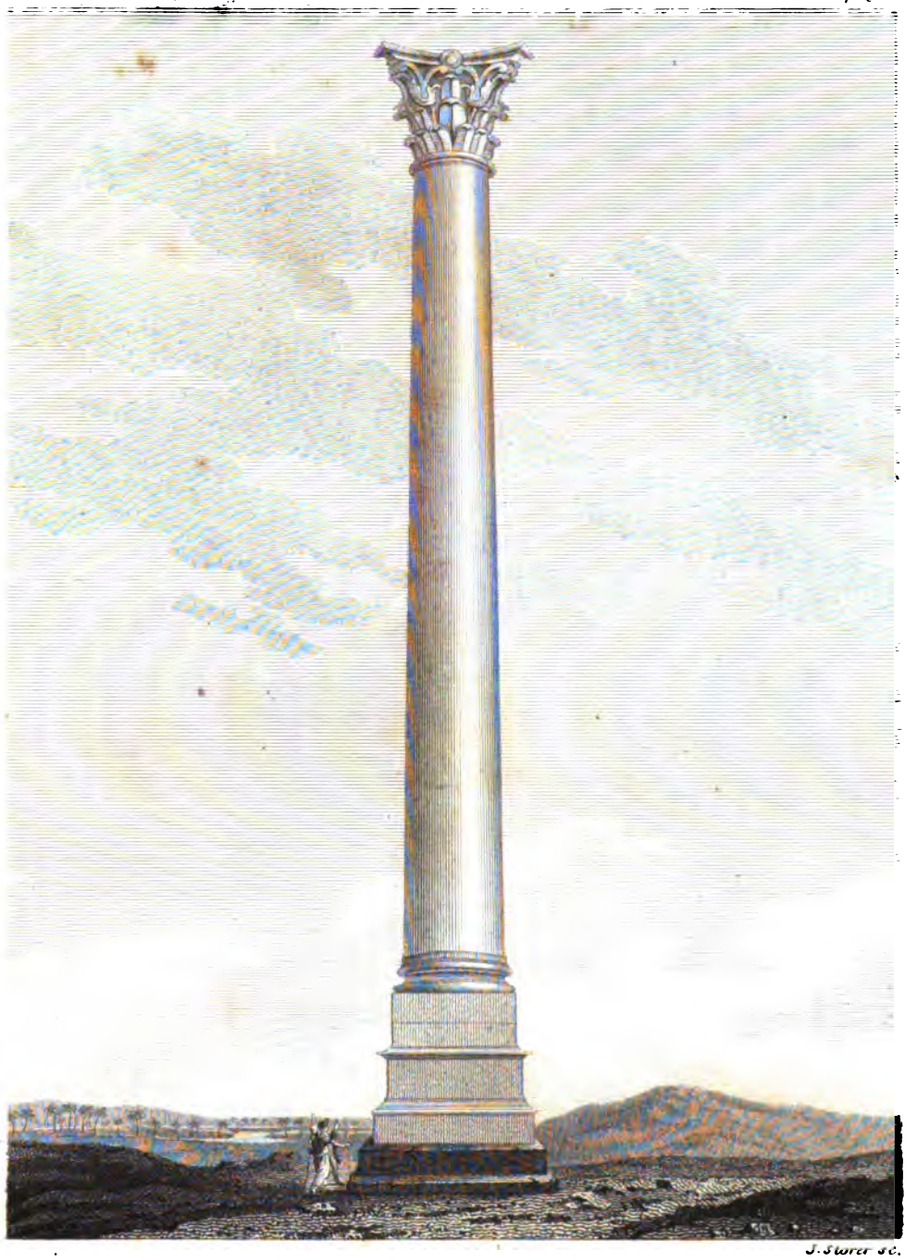
" I here send you a few lines, which I believe will ap-
" pear extraordinary, as every traveller that has been at
" Alexandria has mentioned the famous Pillar of Orien-
" tal granite, which is about a mile without the walls of
" that city, as erected, either by Pompey, or to the ho-
" nour of Pompey. As I differ in opinion from them all,
" and think this famous Pillar was erected to the honour
" of Vespasian, you certainly will expect to hear on what
" foundation I found so extraordinary a conjecture, as so
" new a one may appear to you. By my mensuration,
" the capital of the Pillar is 9 feet 7 inches.

The shaft	—	66	$1\frac{1}{4}$
The base	—	5	$9\frac{3}{4}$
The pedestal	—	10	$5\frac{2}{4}$
Height from the ground		92	0
Diameter	—	9	1

" As soon as I saw this surprising Pillar, I was con-
" vinced that, if it had been erected in Pompey's time,

* Philosoph. Transact. vol. lvii. p. 438.

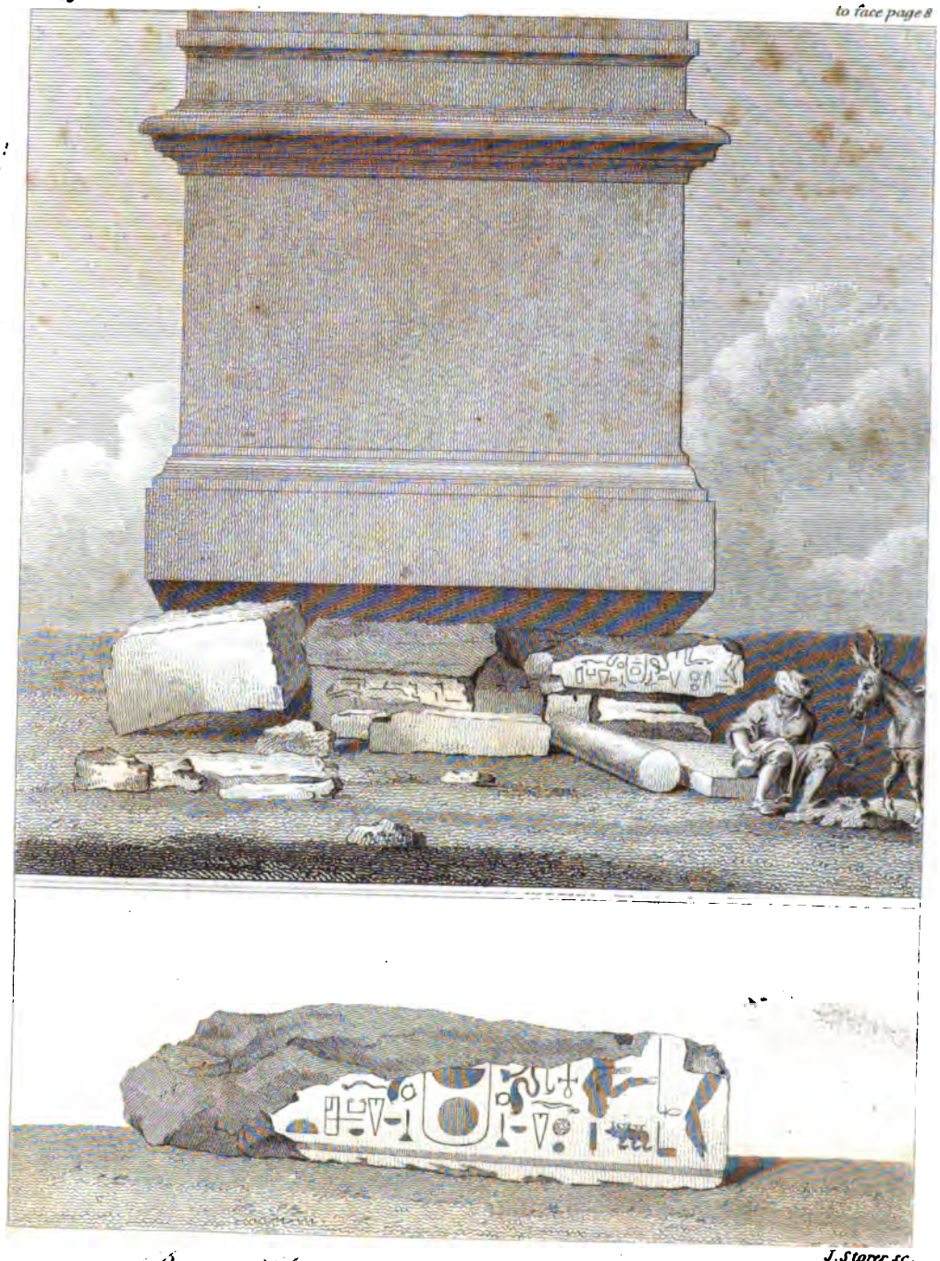
" Strabo, or ſome of the ancients, would have mentioned " it. I therefore determined to examine it narrowly. I " perceived too that the pedeſtal was of a bad and weak " maſonry, compoſed of ſmall and great ſtones, of dif- " ferent ſorts, and abſolutely unable to ſuſtain ſo great " a weight; I therefore eaſily concluded ſuch pedeſtal " not originally belonging to the Pillar. I attempted to " get out a ſtone, which I did without trouble, and diſ- " covered the pedeſtal to be hollow. After ſome time, " I mean, during the courſe of many days, I made an " opening wide enough to enter it; when within it, you " will judge how much I was ſurpriſed to find this pro- " digious maſs of granite ſtood, as on a pivot, on a re- " verſed obeliſk, as I then believed it was, only five feet " ſquare. Curious to know the length of the obeliſk, I " began to move the earth on one of its ſides; but my " ſurpriſe increaſed much, when I found, after moving a " few inches of the ſoil, that the obeliſk was not entire, " this pivot being only four feet and one inch thick. It " is ſeated on a rock: the ſtone is of an extreme hard- " neſs, and almoſt a petrification, or rather conglutina- " tion of many different ſtones, but all vitreſcent. I " never met with any ſtone of this kind any where, ex- " cept with one ſmall piece on the plain of the mom- " mies; I broke a piece of it, which Lord Bute has: a " ſmall piece too of the Pillar was ſent; that gentlemen " may be convinced it is of red granite, and not a com-



J. Storer sc.

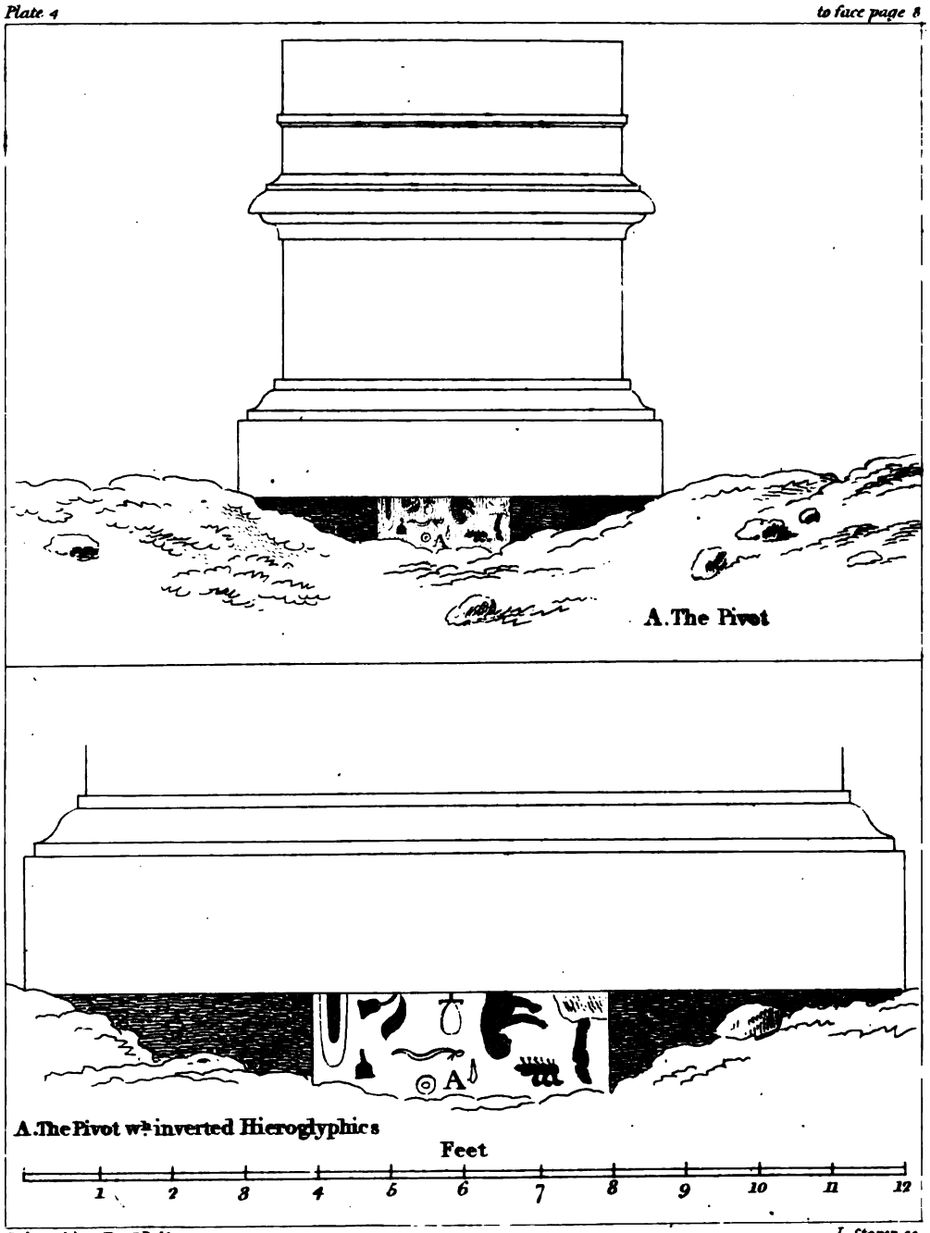
Pompeys Pillar from Dalton's

to face page 8



J. Storer sc.

Base of Pompeys Pillar from Nordens Pl. XI.



John Skippe Esqr Del^t J. Storer sc.

Base & Pivot.

" poſition, as ſome have imagined. This part of the
" obeliſk is covered with hieroglyphics, which are re-
" verſed; a plain proof the Pillar was not erected whilſt
" they were held ſacred characters. Convinced, there-
" fore, that it was not of the antiquity one would ſup-
" poſe it, from being called of Pompey; I viſited it ſe-
" veral times, to ſee if it might not be poſſible to find
" out ſomething that would give room for a reaſonable
" conjecture, in honour of whom, or at what time it
" was erected. From the inſcription I could diſcover
" nothing. It is on the weſt face of the baſe; but ſo
" much injured by time, and I may ſay too, by malice,
" for the marks of an inſtrument are plainly diſcovered
" effacing it, that one can but imperfectly make out ſome
" Greek characters, ſo imperfectly indeed, that no one
" word can be found. At length, obſerving that the ce-
" ment, or mortar, which cloſes the ſmall ſeparation of
" the ſhaft from the baſe, was quite deſtroyed in one part,
" I was curious to ſee if any thing was made uſe of within
" to faſten or tie the ſhaft to the baſe; I ſaw there was:
" being deſirous to know if it was lead, and if ſo, if
" it was not of that pure, and of which we ſtill meet
" with ſome few medals, I endeavoured with a pretty
" large hanger to cut off a ſmall piece of the grapple:
" there was a great number of lizards which had taken
" ſhelter there, and which run out on my introducing
" the hanger. I then diſcovered a dark ſpot, at the diſ-

" tance of more than a foot, within the circumference " of the Pillar; which, by ſtriking it with the hanger, I " found, was ſomething ſtuck faſt to the baſe; after " ſtriking it ſeveral times, I detached it from its place, " and it proved a medal of Veſpaſian, in fine order.

"ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠ - - - - -

" The reverſe is,

"VICTORIA GRADIENS; DEXTRA SPICAS, SINIS. PALMAM.

This medal was ſhewn to the Royal Society.

" The reverſed hieroglyphics are a proof that this " amazing monument was not erected before Pompey's " time; and as there is no mention of it in Strabo, or " any one of the ancient writers that I have met with, " it ſeems plain it was not known before the time of " Veſpaſian. This medal could not by any accident, I " think, have been introduced above a foot within the " circumference of the ſhaft; therefore I ſuppoſe it was " placed there, when the Pillar was erected; which " from thence I conclude to have been done to the " honour of that Emperor; and perhaps on his reſtor- " ing the cripple to the uſe of his limbs. If you think " this paper worth it, you will pleaſe to communicate it " to the Royal Society, and that of the Antiquaries.

" The Pillar is exactly ſhewn, with the pivot it ſtands " upon, with a reference to the ſpot, the medal was

" found upon, in the view of it that I have ſent to " England.

" I beg you will aſſure the Society of my reſpect, and " how happy I ſhall be to execute any of their com- " mands.

" And I hope you will reſt perſuaded of the true con- " ſideration, with which

" I am,

" Dear Sir,

" Your moſt humble Servant,

Zante, " Ed. Wortley Montagu."

May 7, 1767.

In this ſingular account one concluſion is introduced, which ſeems to be perfectly juſt. From the reverſed hieroglyphics that appear on the broken obeliſk, the author fairly infers, that the Column was not placed on this foundation whilſt hieroglyphics were regarded with religious reverence, that is, whilſt the Egyptians were maſters of their own country. But how we can infer, from this circumſtance, that it is leſs ancient than the time of Pompey, it is not eaſy to diſcover; nor has he even attempted to ſhew. He endeavours indeed to prove this from the ſilence of Strabo, and other ancient writers. This argument, which muſt be acknowledged to poſſeſs

ſome weight, I ſhall hereafter attempt to refute. But did our traveller conſider, that the ſame reaſoning might be directed with far greater force againſt his own hypotheſis? Did he recollect that the pages of Tacitus contain not one ſyllable in ſupport of his conjecture? We are informed by this hiſtorian, that the Emperor Veſpaſian paſſed ſome months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind to convey him to Italy, and in this interval performed certain *pretended* miraculous cures, and ſaw a viſion in the temple of Serapis [f]. Theſe wondrous tales

[f] " Per eos menſes, quibus Veſpaſianus Alexandriæ ſtatos æſtivis flatibus " dies, et certa maris, opperiebatur, multa miracula evenêre, quis cæli fa- " vor, et quædam in Veſpaſianum inclinatio numinum oſtenderetur. Ex " plebe Alexandrina quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, ' remedium cæcitatis' expoſcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita " ſuperſtitionibus gens ante alios colit: precabaturque Principem, ' ut genas ' et oculorum orbes dignaretur reſpergere oris excremento.' Alius manum " æger, eodem deo auctore, ' ut pede ac veſtigio Cæſaris calcaretur,' orabat. " Veſpaſianus primo inridere, aſpernari; atque illis inſtantibus, modo fa- " mam vanitatis metuere, modo obſecratione ipſorum, et vocibus adulantium " in ſpem induci: poſtremo exiſtimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac " debilitas ope humana ſuperabiles forent. Medici varie diſſerere: ' Huic non ' exeſam vim luminis, et redituram, ſi pellerentur obſtantia: illi elapſos in ' pravum artus, ſi ſalubris vis adhibeatur, poſſe integrari. Id fortaſſe cordi ' deis, et divino miniſterio Principem electum: denique patrati remedii ' gloriam penes Cæſarem; inriti ludibrium penes miſeros fore.' Igitur Veſ- " paſianus, cuncta fortunæ ſuæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredi- " bile, læto ipſe vultu, erecta quæ aſtabat multitudine, juſſa exſequitur. " Statim converſa ad uſum manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui " interfuere nunc quoque memorant, poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium.

" Altior inde Veſpaſiano cupido adeundi ſacram ædem, ut ſuper rebus

are related at length, and the courſe of the hiſtory is afterwards interrupted to exhibit an account of Serapis, and to trace the origin of the worſhip paid to him in Alexandria. But in all this narration no mention is found of any public monument there dedicated to the Emperor [g]; an omiſſion, which can never be reconciled

" imperii conſuleret. ' Arceri templo cunctos' jubet: atque ingreſſus, in-
" tentuſque numini, reſpexit pone tergum e primoribus Ægyptiorum, no-
" mine Baſiliden; quem procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere, et ægro
" corpore detineri haud ignorabat. Percunctatur ſacerdotes, ' num illo die
' Baſilides templum iniſſet?' percunctatur obvios, ' num in urbe viſus ſit?'
" denique, miſſis equitibus, explorat, illo temporis momento, octoginta mil-
" libus paſſuum abfuiſſe. Tunc divinam ſpeciem, et vim reſponſi ex no-
" mine Baſilidis, interpretatus eſt." TACIT. Hiſt. l. iv. §. 81, 82. ed. Brotier.

[g] There is likewiſe ſome ground for doubting, whether Veſpaſian would have approved of any honour done to himſelf of ſo expenſive a nature as this magnificent Column; and we may believe that it would not have been done without his permiſſion. The prevailing foible of this Prince, it is well known, was an inordinate love of money; which however he contrived to render leſs offenſive to his ſubjects by occaſional ſallies of wit and pleaſantry. One of thoſe good-humoured jeſts, which his biographer Suetonius has preſerved, is connected with a fact ſo ſimilar to the preſent, that I ſhall introduce it without apology. It ſeems that the inhabitants of a certain city, deſigning to pay him a compliment, ſent a deputation of their citizens, to acquaint him, that they had voted a large ſum for a coloſſal ſtatue of him. *Place it here*, ſaid he, holding out his hand; *the baſe is ready for it, you ſee.* And from the words of the hiſtorian we are left to conclude, that this pleaſantry contained a ſerious demand, and that the Emperor conſidered the money as preferable to the honour *.

* Suet. in Veſp. §. 23. The ſame ſtory is alſo related by Xiphilin and Zonaras. It may be obſerved, that Suetonius, who relates the *pretended* miracles and viſion at Alexandria, is equally ſilent with Tacitus reſpecting any public memorial erected there in honour of Veſpaſian.

with the ſuppoſition, that, at any time within the hiſtorian's knowledge, the moſt magnificent column in the univerſe had been raiſed for this very purpoſe.

If a medal of Veſpaſian had been repoſited between the ſhaft and the baſe of the Column, at the time, and for the purpoſe, which Montagu ſuppoſed, we might have expected to find on it an impreſſion ſomewhat more appropriate to the occaſion. It was reported and believed, that the reſidence of Veſpaſian at Alexandria had been ſignalized by the moſt extraordinary events of his life. It was even ſaid, that the chief Deity of that city had diſtinguiſhed him by repeated marks of his regard. If then the Column was erected by him, or by others in honour of his name, the medal ſo placed would probably have preſerved the remembrance of theſe wonderful events; and piety, or gratitude, or vanity would have ſuggeſted ſome device to exhibit the Emperor as the diſtinguiſhed favourite of Heaven: in ſhort, it would have borne ſome reference to Serapis. For, ſince it is certainly known that the name of Serapis appears on other medals of Veſpaſian, as well as thoſe of his ſon Domitian[h], it is incredible that it ſhould have been ex-

[h] Pellerin, Mélange de diverſes Médailles, tom. i. p. 224. "In nummo "Veſpaſiani, ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. id eſt, *Imperatoris Cæ-* "*ſaris Auguſti Veſpaſiani.* In averſa parte, ΖΕΥΣ. ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ. i. e. *Jupiter* "*Serapis.*

cluded from this, when it had ſo juſt and ſingular a claim to admiſſion.

But there is ſomething ſtill behind, which takes from the credit of the whole account. It is ſaid, that the pretended diſcovery of the medal was nothing more than a fraudulent contrivance to impoſe on the credulity of the learned. A modern French traveller into Egypt informs us, that the trick was known at Alexandria, and would not paſs on thoſe who knew the Column. His authority, which I ſhould aſſuredly never produce in oppoſition to evidence of approved reſpectability, may in this inſtance be taken for the exiſtence of a common report[i]: for it

" In nummo Domitiani, ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ΔΟ...ΤΙΑΝΟΣ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. i.e. *Impe-*
" *rator Cæſar Domitianus Auguſtus Germanicus.* In averſa parte, ΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΑ-
" ΡΑΠΙΣ. i. e. *Sol Serapis.*" Brotier's Edition of TACITUS, vol. iii. p. 534, 5. N.

[i] " Le chevalier de Montagu, que ſes vaſtes connoiſſances et ſes aven-
" tures ont rendu célèbre, s'étoit formé, pendant le long ſéjour qu'il a fait
" en Orient, une nouvelle opinion ſur le même ſujet. Il vouloit que la
" Colonne fût *l'ouvrage d'Adrien*, autre empereur Romain, qui avoit voyagé
" en Egypte. Mais il n'avoit aucune preuve: voulant néanmoins accré-
" diter ſon opinion, il fut obligé, afin de perſuader aux autres ce qu'il s'étoit
" perſuadé à lui-même, d'uſer d'une petite ſupercherie. Je tiens le fait d'un
" témoin irréprochable. Le ſavant Anglois avoit fait inſinuer, par un de
" ſes gens, une petite médaille de *l'empereur Adrien*, dans un endroit qu'il
" avoit indiqué, entre le ſol ſur lequel poſe la Colonne et ſon ſtylobate. Il
" ſe rendit enſuite ſur les lieux en nombreuſe compagnie, et après des re-
" cherches feintes, il fit tomber adroitement, avec la lame d'un couteau, la

muſt be acknowledged, that the character of our countryman was not ſo eſtabliſhed for veracity, as not to be vulnerable even by an antagoniſt like the preſent[k]. I may therefore diſmiſs the hypotheſis with obſerving, that it reſts entirely on the relation of an author, whom we may more juſtly admire for eccentric ingenuity and various learning, than for modeſt diffidence and ſcrupulous attachment to truth.

" médaille qu'il montra comme une preuve inconteſtable de la vérité de ſa " découverte. Il la communiqua dans ſa patrie : elle n'y eut pas un grand " ſuccès, et elle ne pouvoit y en obtenir beaucoup, aux yeux de ceux qui " connoiſſoient la Colonne, &c." SONNINI, tom. i. p. 136.

The reader will not fail to obſerve the careleſſneſs, or ignorance, which ſubſtitutes the name of *Adrian* for *Veſpaſian* in this narration.

[k] Extract of a Letter from my worthy and ingenious friend JOHN SKIPPE, Eſq. who travelled into Egypt, and other parts of the Levant, ſome few years ſince, and to whom this publication is indebted for the valuable Drawings, from which plates I. and IV. have been engraved.

" Dear Sir, OVERBURY, *Oct.* 13, 1785.

" I was favoured with your Letter of the 27th of laſt month, in- " cloſing me a copy of Mr. Montagu's upon the ſubject of the Pillar. The " account appears to me to be a very juſt one ; and his conjectures, ſtrength- " ened by the circumſtance of the medal, ſeem to have ſome degree of " weight and plauſibility : how far we may venture to give credit to the " finding of the medal, I do not know, as he was a man whoſe veracity has " been too frequently called in queſtion, and oftentimes with reaſon, &c. " &c."

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE next opinion which I am to conſider is grounded upon evidence of another kind, and ſupported by arguments more open to examination.

BROTIER, the learned editor of Tacitus, in his notes upon that claſſic, has attempted to determine the age and founder of the Column by an authority, which, if it had any exiſtence, would be indiſputable and deciſive. He ſays, " prope Columnam Pompeii, ut vulgo loquun-" tur; quam verius Columnam Dionyſii Ptolemæi dice-" rent, ut ex ſemeſis Inſcriptionis literis obſervavit P. " Sicard, egregius Ægyptiacarum Antiquitatum indaga-" tor[1]."—That is, Father Sicard diſcovered by the remains of the Inſcription, that the Column ought rather to be attributed to one of the Ptolemies. Now, a reference to Father Sicard, who is named as the author of this important diſcovery, will afford a manifeſt proof, how little reliance is to be placed on the fidelity of the French writer. The paſſage in Sicard runs thus: " Il eſt étonnant que tout ce qu'il y a eu d'an-

[1] Tacitus, tom. iii. p. 535. edit. Brot.

" ciens auteurs n'ayent pas donné la moindre connoiſ-
" ſance du temps, auquel cette Colonne a été placée, du
" nom de l'ouvrier, de l'uſage qu'on en vouloit faire :
" étant la plus haute et la plus ſinguliere qui ait été
" vue dans le monde, à ce que l'on ſçache, il étoit du de-
" voir des hiſtoriens de marquer en détail ces circon-
" ſtances. Quelques modernes l'ont appellée la Colonne
" de Pompée, et ce nom lui eſt demeuré ; mais aſſuré-
" ment ils l'ont fait ſans aucun fondement, s'ils parlent
" de ſa premiere conſtruction. Il y a de fortes conjec-
" tures qu'elle eſt faite du temps de Ptolémée Everge-
" tés premier, et non pas ſous les Dynaſties des Egyp-
" tiens, ſous les Perſes lorſqu'ils étoient maîtres de
" l'Egypte, ou ſous Alexandre, encore moins ſous les
" Romains[m].------Sur la face [du piédeſtal] qui eſt
" du côté de l'Oueſt, déclinant un peu au Nord, il y
" a dans la plinte une Inſcription Grecque en cinq
" lignes ; mais à huit ou dix lettres près, ſéparées, et
" nullement de ſuite, le reſte eſt preſqu'effacé[n]."

From theſe words it does indeed appear, that Father Sicard might entertain a ſtrong opinion, that the Column was coeval with Ptolemy Euergetes : but for this opinion he alleges no reaſon ; he pretends to nothing more certain than conjecture : and ſo far from ſupport-

[m] Lettres édifiantes, tom. v. p. 482.

[n] Ibid. p. 483.

ing Brotier's aſſertion, in the only point which he was quoted to prove, (viz. that he collected what he knew, or thought, of the Column from the Inſcription,) he tells us expreſsly, that, with the exception of eight or ten unconnected letters, all the reſt of the Inſcription was obliterated.

It would be a waſte of time to purſue any farther this phantom of an argument, which Brotier has raiſed; but to ſhew how improbable it is that any information ſhould be obtained from the Inſcription, it might be proved from the univerſal voice of modern travellers, that it has been illegible for the ſpace of a century at leaſt, and that no writer within that period appears to have known, or even conjectured, any thing of its meaning.

The evidence of Father Sicard has been given above. This diligent and devout miſſionary was long reſident in Egypt, and died there of the plague about the year 1716. The accounts of the Inſcription, which have been publiſhed by ſome other travellers of the higheſt reputation, ſhall be here added for the fuller ſatisfaction of the reader.

M. DE MAILLET was born in Lorraine, in the year 1659. In 1692 he was appointed Conſul General of

Egypt, and held that ſituation with great credit ſixteen years. He did not publiſh any thing himſelf, but left behind him papers and memoirs, from which thoſe works which bear his name were afterwards ſelected. From theſe papers of M. de Maillet, the Abbé Maſcrier drew up the Deſcription of Egypt, which was publiſhed under his name in the year 1743. His account of the Inſcription on the Column is contained in the following words: —— " au bas de ſon fût du côté de l'Oueſt on " trouve une Inſcription Grecque, dont je ne crois pas " qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. Auſſi eſt-il impoſſible " de la lire à cauſe de la couleur variée du marbre qui " compoſe cette piece." P. 144.

To the munificent patronage of two ſucceſſive Kings of Denmark we are indebted for ſome of the moſt accurate and ſcientific deſcriptions of Eaſtern Antiquities. NORDEN travelled into Egypt by the command of Chriſtian VI. and reſided there about twelve months, from the beginning of the year 1737 to 1738: during which time he was diligently employed in inveſtigating the ſtate of the country, and eſpecially in examining the magnificent remains of ancient art, with which it abounds. His obſervations on the Inſcription, of which I am ſpeaking, are theſe—" Je remarquerai ſeulement, " que comme cette Colonne eſt de l'ordre Corinthien, cela " ſemble fixer ſon érection au tems des Ptolémées.....Une

" Inſcription, qu'on découvre avec peine ſur un des côtés
" du piédeſtal, pourroit, ſans doute, donner quelque lu-
" mière là-deſſus; mais le tems l'a ſi peu ménagée, qu'elle
" n'eſt guère déchiffrable. Un voyageur, qui l'a obſer-
" vée une vingtaine d'années avant moi, prétend avoir
" pu diſtinguer, qu'elle étoit écrite en caractères Grecs.
" Je m'en rapporte." P. 22.

NIEBUHR, who travelled into Egypt in the year 1761, and who, unfortunately for the cauſe of ſcience, was the only ſurvivor of the five perſons ſent out at the expence of Frederic V. to viſit Egypt, Arabia, and other parts of the Eaſt, has given us the following account of the Inſcription on the baſe of the Column. " Je n'ai pu diſtin-
" guer clairement que quelques caractères de l'Inſcription,
" dont le côté du Sud-Oueſt de la Colonne eſt chargé. M.
" DE HAVEN ſe donna bien de la peine, pour en découvrir
" davantage : mais il ne put à beaucoup près en recon-
" noitre autant que d'autres prétendent en avoir recon-
" nu avant nous. Il paroît, que l'Architecte Grec n'a
" pas voulu immortaliſer ſon nom par cette Inſcription,
" ou qu'il n'a pas connu la nature de la pierre auſſi
" bien que les anciens Egyptiens. Car ſi les Grecs euſ-
" ſent taillé cette Inſcription auſſi profondément dans
" la Colonne, que les Egyptiens ont taillé les hiéro-
" glyphes dans les obéliſques, elle ne ſeroit pas devenue
" méconnoiſſable. D'ailleurs les anciens avoient coutume

" de charger de caractères les quatre côtés de leurs " obéliſques; et l'Inſcription Grecque de cette Colonne " eſt préciſément du côté, qui a le plus ſouffert des in- " jures du temps." Tom. i. p. 39.

I ſhall conclude with the evidence of Biſhop Pocoke; becauſe his deſcription is more particular than that of any other writer. " There are ſome ſigns of a " Greek Inſcription on the weſt ſide, which can hardly " be diſcerned, unleſs the ſun ſhines on it: it conſiſts " of four lines: what letters I could make any conjec- " ture of, I have given below[a].

" ⊥ ɔ . . 7 . . . . OCOTATOI P. O. P. TA
" TCC . . O CONIOT. TONΛΛΕΛΛΔ
" ΔIC MAPPOΛIION TON ΛΛI. .
" ΠOCE . . . . . ΛPΛCC. . . . ."

From theſe paſſages which I have now laid before my readers, they will have it in their power to decide at once, how entirely deſtitute of foundation is the aſſertion of Brotier, and how little aſſiſtance the Inſcription on the baſe of the Column is capable of affording, towards enabling us to fix with certainty its true date, or aſſign its genuine origin.

But it is impoſſible for me to quit this part of my ſub-

[a] Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. i. p. 8.

ject, without ſtating one circumſtance, which to me appears in the higheſt degree extraordinary. Our learned countryman JOHN GREAVES, who was eminent for his ſkill in the Greek, Perſian, and Arabic languages, as well as for his profound and extenſive knowledge of mathematical ſubjects, travelled into Egypt in the year 1638, and, during his ſtay in that country, reſided ſix months at Alexandria[p]. One object, which this moſt ingenious and accurate traveller had particularly in view, was, as he himſelf informs us, to determine "how the "originals and ſtandards of weights and meaſures, not-"withſtanding the revolutions and viciſſitudes of em-"pires, might be perpetuated to poſterity. Amongſt "ſeveral ways," continues he, "of which I thought, I "know none more certain and unqueſtionable, than to "compare them with ſome remarkable and laſting mo-"numents in remote countries, that have ſtood unim-"paired for many hundred years, and are likely to con-"tinue as many more. In which kind I made choice "of the firſt and moſt eaſterly of the three great Pyra-"mids in Egypt, and of *the baſis* of that admirable Co-"rinthian Pillar, erected, as I ſuppoſe, by one of the "Ptolemies, a quarter of a mile diſtant to the ſouth "from Alexandria, &c. &c." Vol. i. p. 345.

[p] "Sex continuos menſes Alexandriæ hæſi." *Miſcellaneous works of Mr. John Greaves.* Vol. i. p. 454.

In purſuance of this deſign, our traveller meaſured the breadth of the baſe of the Column, with the utmoſt accuracy, at two different heights; and it well deſerves to be remembered, that the ſide of the baſe which he choſe for this purpoſe was *the weſtern ſide*. The breadth of the baſe, as he tells us, at the greateſt height at which he meaſured it, is 12 feet $\frac{539}{1000}$; at the other height he found it to be 14 feet $\frac{417}{1000}$. (Vol. i. p. 347.)

Of the Inſcription, however, the traces of which later travellers have obſerved on this weſtern ſide of the baſe, nothing is ſaid by Greaves, though it appears to have been his cuſtom, in other parts of his works, to pay particular attention to things of a ſimilar nature. If the Inſcription indeed exiſted at that time, we can ſcarcely conceive that it ſhould have eſcaped the obſervation of ſo intelligent and induſtrious an inquirer; employed too, as he certainly was, in meaſuring with ſuch minute accuracy the breadth of the baſe at two diſtinct heights, and on that very ſide of it where the letters are ſaid to be inſcribed. I muſt add too, as a ſtill ſtronger circumſtance, that whoever will take the trouble to compare the diagram, which Greaves has given, with the plate of Biſhop Pococke, cannot fail to obſerve, that the uppermoſt of the lines acroſs the baſe meaſured by Greaves paſſes directly over the place which Pococke has aſſigned to the Inſcription itſelf. We

may therefore, at leaſt, ſafely infer from the ſilence of Greaves on this ſubject, that the Inſcription, if it did then at all exiſt, was either ſo inſignificant, or ſo nearly obliterated, as to be deemed unworthy of his notice.

SECT. III.

THE name, which the Alexandrian Column obtained amongſt the Arabs, has given riſe to a third hypotheſis for aſcertaining its age; an hypotheſis, which owes its chief ſupport to the reſpectable character of MICHAELIS; whoſe diſtinguiſhed talents have been ſo conſpicuouſly exerted in the cauſe of ſacred literature, that to differ from him on any ſubject without heſitation and pain, were to be wanting in reſpect for the pureſt intentions, the moſt unwearied diligence, and the moſt profound erudition. To this eminent Orientaliſt we are indebted for the publication of the original text of Abulfeda's Geography of Egypt with a Latin tranſlation and notes[q]. In the ſhort account of Alexandria given by Abulfeda, the Column is called in Arabic عمود السواري *Amûd Iſſawâri*, which Michaelis renders, "The Pillar of "Severus[r]."

[q] Printed at Goettingen in 1776.

[r] "Columnam Severi] Eſt Columna ſic dicta Pompeii, quam delineatam "videbis in Pocokiani itinerarii tabula IV. Nordenianique XI. XII. deſcrip- "tam a pleriſque, qui Alexandriam adierunt. Pompeii, cujus ei nomen, "neſcio quo caſu, tribuitur, eam eſſe non poſſe, monuerunt aliqui, nullam "enim ejus mentionem facere Strabonem, alioſque, qui Cæſaris et Auguſti

Now, from the high rank which Michaelis juſtly held in the republic of letters, and his accurate knowledge of two Oriental languages, the Hebrew and Syriac, it was natural to expect, that his opinion, on ſo curious a ſubject, would be adopted by various other writers. Profeſſor Wahl, who tranſlated my firſt edition of Abdollatif into German[s], conſiders this interpretation of the Arabic words, as exact and unexceptionable[t]: and Mr. Browne,

" tempore ſatis adcurate de Alexandria expoſuerint. Conjecerunt ergo alii,
" Tito Veſpaſiano poſitam eſſe, aut Hadriano ; ſed ſunt, ut dixi, conjectu-
" ræ. Eo majoris faciendus Abulfeda, ex quo diſcimus, ſeculo adhuc XIII.
" nomen *Severi* Columnæ hæſiſſe. Nec veri diſſimile, Severo, qui et Alex-
" andriam adiit, et maxima in urbem contulit beneficia, ſenatum quoque,
" quo antea caruerat, ei dedit, ſtatuam a grata urbe erectam. Spartianus
" in vita Severi, c. xvii. *Alexandriam petiit - - - - Alexandrinis jus buleutarum*
" *dedit, qui ſine conſilio, ita ut ſub regibus antea vivebant, uno contenti judice,*
" *quem Cæſar dediſſet. Multa præterea his jura mutavit. Jucundam ſibi pere-*
" *grinationem propter religionem dei Serapis, et propter novitatem animalium et*
" *locorum fuiſſe, Severus ipſe poſtea oſtendit. Nam et Memphim, et Memnonem,*
" *et Pyramides, et Labyrinthum diligenter inſpexit.*

" Græcorum cum eſſet Alexandria, ac diu quoque poſt, ſub Arabum im-
" periis, Græcis in ea multis habitantibus inſcriptionibuſque Columnæ ad-
" huc integris, certo ſciri, et ad poſteritatem non dubia traditione, ipſoque
" etiam nomine, propalari potuit, cujus eſſet. Severi certe nomen Arabs
" non confinxerit, forte quis fuerit Severus ignorans. Videmur ergo jam
" tandem aliquando de nobiliſſimo antiquitatis monumento aliquid certe
" ſtatuere poſſe : idque adeo novum recentioribus et ignotum, ut Reiſkius,
" &c. &c." MICHAELIS ad Abulfedam, p. 94.

[s] Printed at Halle, 1790.

[t] " I am doubtful from what the name *El Sewari* is derived. Michae-
" lis mentions the Emperor *Severus*, and I know of nothing which can

whoſe ſkill in that language is, I hope, ſuperior to his regard for Divine revelation[u], as readily accedes to it: for having mentioned in his text, "The Column uſually, "but improperly, termed of Pompey," he adds in a note, "Now ſuppoſed to be erected in honour of "Severus[x]."

But a wider diffuſion has been given to this hypotheſis by the popular Letters of SAVARY[y], a man of little learning, and perhaps leſs knowledge of Antiquity; of whom were I to affirm, that he has had the aſſurance to publiſh a volume of Travels in Upper Egypt, without having ſet his foot in the country, I ſhould only repeat what his own countryman has aſſerted, as it ſhould ſeem, without fear of contradiction or reply[z].

"be objected to this explanation." WAHL's tranſlation of Abdollatif, p. 138.

[u] BROWNE's Travels, p. 362, 363.

[x] Ibid. p. 6.

[y] Publiſhed at Paris in 1786.

[z] "Il eſt à remarquer encore que peu de voyageurs François ont pénétré "dans l'Egypte ſupérieure. Aucun de ceux qui, dans ces derniers temps, "ont acquis de la célébrité, n'a pouſſé ſes recherches au-delà de la plaine "de Saccara, c'eſt-à-dire, au-delà des environs du Caire. Savary lui-"même, qui a publié deux volumes ſur la haute Egypte, n'y avoit jamais "mis le pied: et le ton d'aſſurance avec lequel il en parle, les détails qu'il "donne de ce voyage, comme s'il eût été réel, ſont une tache à la réputa-"tion de cet élégant écrivain. J'ai beaucoup connu Savary; je l'ai vu à

In the account which he gives of his Travels in Lower Egypt, he produces the teſtimony of Abulfeda, in proof that the proper title of the Alexandrian Column is "the "Pillar of Severus;" thus plainly inſinuating, it ſhould ſeem, that he himſelf had made this important diſcovery, and unfairly ſuppreſſing all mention of Michaelis. His words are theſe—"Les ſavans et les voyageurs ont fait "des efforts infructueux pour découvrir à quel Prince on "l'avoit érigée. Les plus ſages ont penſé que ce ne pou- "voit être en l'honneur de Pompée, puiſque Strabon et "Diodore de Sicile n'en ont point parlé. Ils ſont reſtés "dans le doute. Il me ſemble qu'Abulfeda pouvoit les "en tirer. Il l'appelle *la Colonne de Sévère*, et l'hiſtoire "nous apprend que cet Empereur viſita l'Egypte[a], donna "un ſénat à la ville d'Alexandrie, et mérita bien de ſes "habitans. Cette Colonne fut une marque de leur gra-

"Alexandrie, dans l'Île de Candie, et depuis en France. Le ſuccès mérité "du premier volume de ſes Lettres ſur l'Egypte, auquel ſon intention avoit "été de ſe borner, puiſqu'il contenoit les ſeules parties de cette contrée où "il eût voyagé, l'avoit enivré. Il voulut y ajouter un voyage qu'il n'avoit "pas fait, et il a été réduit à extraire, à copier Hérodote, Strabon, Diodore, "&c." SONNINI, tom. i. p. 12.

[a] "L'Empereur Sévère ſe rendit dans la ville d'Alexandrie. Il accorda "un ſénat à ſes habitans, qui juſqu'alors, ſoumis à l'autorité d'un ſeul ma- "giſtrat Romain, avoient vécu ſans conſeil national comme ſous les Ptolé- "mées, ou la volonté du prince étoit leur loi. Sévère ne borna pas là ſes "bienfaits, il changea pluſieurs loix en leur faveur. *Spartien*, ch. xvii. vie "de l'Empereur Sévère." SAVARY, p. 35. N.

" titude; l'Inſcription Grecque, à moitié effacée que l'on
" y voit du côté de l'occident, lorſque le ſoleil l'éclaire,
" étoit ſans doute liſible du tems d'Abulfeda, et conſer-
" voit le nom de Sévère. Ce n'eſt pas le ſeul monument
" que la reconnoiſſance des Alexandrins lui ait élevé.
" On voit au milieu des ruines d'Antinoë, bâtie par
" Adrien, une magnifique Colonne dont l'Inſcription,
" encore ſubſiſtante, la dédie à ALEXANDRE SEVERE."
P. 34.

A courteous reader might ſuppoſe that MONSIEUR SAVARY had examined the original authors with critical accuracy, had ſpent many a long and toilſome night in exploring the inmoſt receſſes of Oriental as well as European literature, and was on terms of familiar intimacy with volumes almoſt forgotten by the learned themſelves, and utterly inacceſſible to vulgar ſcholars. Even thoſe who might ſuſpect that ſuch quotations were borrowed, and who, upon conſulting the work of Michaelis, would diſcover whence they were taken, might yet give Monſieur Savary credit at leaſt for having conſulted the authorities referred to by the learned Profeſſor: and yet certain, moſt certain it is, that he could not poſſibly have ſeen the paſſage in Spartianus; ſince the Severus ſpoken of by that Hiſtorian in the chapter referred to, is not Alexander Severus, who began his reign A. D. 222. (and who moreover never

was in Egypt) but Septimius Severus, whoſe reign commenced A. D. 193.

I return now to the Arabic expreſſion *Amûd Iſſawâri*, by which Pompey's Pillar was diſtinguiſhed in the middle ages; and I heſitate not to affirm, that it has no other ſignification whatever than "The Column of the "Pillars."

To an Engliſh ear this phraſe will perhaps appear rather tautologous. Our language affords no correſpondent term, no word equally extenſive with *Amûd*; which includes both the round and the ſquare Pillar; and may be applied to a Grecian column, or an Egyptian obeliſk. At the time when the Arabic language firſt prevailed in Egypt, there were only two extraordinary objects of this kind remaining in Alexandria; Cleopatra's Needle, and Pompey's Pillar; and the inhabitants appear to have diſtinguiſhed them by their local ſituation; calling the one, *Amûd il Bahri*, "The Column of the "Sea," and the other, *Amûd Iſſawâri*, "The Column "of the Pillars [b]."

[b] That is, perhaps, by or near the Pillars. In the ſame manner Bp. Pococke underſtood an analogous expreſſion, *Akmud* [i. e. *Amûd*] *Bijige* *, to ſignify the Column near Bijige: and that the expreſſion, "The Pillars,"

* Vol. i. p. 59.

It is, however, neceſſary to ſhew that ſome reaſon exiſted for the uſe of this appellation, as deſcriptive of the Column. Now Bp. Pococke informs us explicitly, that there *ſtill remain* ſome fragments of granite Pillars, four feet in diameter, near the Column of Pompey[c]: and we have the moſt poſitive teſtimony of the Arabic writers of the middle ages, a teſtimony as much to be depended on in this inſtance as that of any Greek or Roman writer, that, in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, there were more than four hundred of theſe Pillars ſtanding in the immediate vicinity of the Column. So that this magnificent Monument at that time might evidently be called, with ſingular propriety, "THE "COLUMN of the Pillars."

It appears, therefore, that neither the ſuſpected Medal of Veſpaſian, the illegible Inſcription on the baſe, nor the miſtaken Verſion of the paſſage in Abulfeda, can afford any ſatisfactory information with reſpect to the hiſtory of the Column. But having now, I truſt, removed at leaſt ſome of the impediments that obſtructed

was ſometimes uſed as a local term, may perhaps be inferred from hence, that the ruins of Perſepolis are to this day called in the language of Perſia, *Chehel Minar*, "The forty Pillars *."

[c] Vol. i. p. 8.

* See Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 99.

our way, it is time to quit this part of the ſubject for another; in the inveſtigation of which, while I endeavour to preſent the reader with an intereſting object of curioſity, ſome diſcovery may perhaps be made, which will facilitate the remainder of our INQUIRY.

SECT. IV.

PLUTARCH, in his well known Treatiſe on Iſis and Oſiris, digreſſes from the main object of his work to introduce ſome obſervations on the ALEXANDRIAN SERAPIS [d]; which, notwithſtanding, contribute to the illuſtration of the topic he is diſcuſſing. After the example of this eminent writer, I will here venture on a digreſſion concerning the ALEXANDRIAN TEMPLE of Serapis [e].

[d] Περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδ. Edit. SQUIRE, p. 67. et Verſio Anglic. ibid. p. 35.

[e] Pauſanias, in his deſcription of Athens, obſerves :———ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως, Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος, ἐπιφανέστατον μέν ἐστιν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει. ATTICA, edit. KUHN, p. 42.

" Ce Temple [*de Sérapis, à Alexandrie*] étoit ſitué auprès du petit Port, " nommé Εὔνοστον, dans le quartier Rhacotis, ſur un terrain très-ſabloneux, où " les vents élevoient d'immenſes tourbillons de ſable." LANGLES, Magaſin Encyclopédique, Mémoire ſur Alexandrie, V. Année, tom. iii. p. 381.

The latter part of this Note reminds me of a ſimilar remark I have read in TEMPLEMAN's tranſlation of Norden's travels. Edit. fol. vol. i. p. 21. Templeman's words are—" Strabo mentions, ' That the Serapium is ſituated ' in a very ſandy place, inſomuch that vaſt heaps of ſand are raiſed by the ' winds.' *From this circumſtance, I think it evident, that the Serapium* " *could not be ſituated near the Nile; for the ſlime of ſo muddy a river would* " *neceſſarily compact more firmly the ſands.*"

Since the reſtoration of letters, no regular attempt, as far as I know, has been made to examine the hiſtory of this ſplendid monument of Grecian Antiquity. I ſhall therefore collect ſuch notices as remain concerning it; and though they detain the Reader awhile from the propoſed object of inquiry, they will perhaps afford him a more diſtinct idea of an edifice, celebrated, by the concurrent teſtimony of all ancient authors, as ſuperior in grandeur and magnificence to every Heathen Temple, with the ſingle exception of the Roman Capitol.

To Ruffinus, who wrote about the end of the fourth century, we are indebted for the moſt complete and intereſting deſcription which remains of the FORM of the Sera-

Now, as Templeman applies the above quotation from Strabo to the *Alexandrian* Serapeum, it is clear that he did not conſult the original Greek; for Strabo, in the paſſage alluded to, ſpeaks only of the Serapeum of Memphis. Ἔϛι δ' ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν, θεᾶς Ἑλληνίδος νομιζομένης· τινὲς δὲ Σελήνης ἱερὸν εἶναί φασιν. Ἔϛι δὲ καὶ Σεράπειον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὥϛθ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θῖνας ἄμμων σωρεύεϛθαι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ϛφίγγες, αἳ μὲν καὶ μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐωρῶνλο ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατακεχωσμέναι, αἳ δ' ἡμιφανεῖς· ἐξ ὧν εἰκάζειν παρῆν τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰ τῷ βαδίζοντι πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν λαίλαψ ἐπιπέϛοι. Πόλις δ' ἐϛὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὔανδρος, δευτέρα μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μιγάδων ἀνδρῶν καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συνῳκισμένων. Ed. Amſtel. p. 1161.

Of the Serapeum at Canopus Strabo ſpeaks more largely. Κάνωβος δ' ἐϛὶ πόλις ἐν εἴκοϛι καὶ ἑκατὸν ϛαδίοις ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας πεζῇ ἰοῦϛιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβε τῦ Μενελάε κυβερνήτε, ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουϛα τὸ τῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἁγιϛείᾳ τιμώμενον, καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρον, ὥϛε καὶ τὰς ἐλλογιμωλάτας ἄνδρας πιϛεύειν, καὶ ἐγκοιμᾶϛθαι αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἑτέρων. Συγγράφουϛι δέ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρεταὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων. Ibid. p. 1152.

peum. The extenſive quadrangles, the ſpacious windows, the vaſt and magnificent ſtyle of the building, together with the gigantic ſtatue of the deity, all appear to have filled his imagination with ideas of grandeur and immenſity, which his whole relation ſeems labouring to expreſs. " Serapis apud Alexandriam Templum audi-
" tum quidem omnibus puto, pleriſque vero etiam no-
" tum. Locus eſt non natura, ſed manu et conſtruc-
" tione per centum, aut eo amplius gradus, in ſublime
" ſuſpenſus[f], quadratis et ingentibus ſpatiis omni ex
" parte diſtentus: cuncta vero quo ad ſummum pavi-
" mentorum evadatur, opere forniceo conſtructa, quæ
" immenſis deſuper luminaribus, et occultis aditibus in-
" vicem in ſemet diſtinctis, uſum diverſis miniſteriis et
" clandeſtinis officiis exhibebant. Jam vero in ſuperio-
" ribus extrema totius ambitus occupant exhedræ et
" paſtophoria, domuſque in excelſum porrectæ in quibus
" vel æditui, vel hi quos appellabant ἀγνεύοντας, id eſt,
" qui ſe caſtificant, commanere ſoliti erant. Porticus
" quoque poſt hæc omnem ambitum quadratis ordini-
" bus diſtinctæ, intrinſecus circumibant. In medio to-

[f] ——— Τὸ γὰρ Σεράπιον ἐκεῖνο καταλαβόντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές· νεὼς δὲ οὗτος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφανέστατος, ἐπὶ γεωλόφου τινὸς ὑπερκείμενος. NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, edit. Par. tom. ii. p. 272.

——— καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ Σεράπιον· ναὸς δὲ ἦτος ἦν κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει ἐμφανέστατος, ἐπὶ γεωλόφου κείμενος. SOZOM. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. vii. cap. xv. edit. Reading, p. 297.

" tius ſpatii ædes erat, pretioſis edita columnis, et " marmoris ſaxo extrinſecus ample magnificeque con- " ſtructa. In hac ſimulachrum Serapis ita erat vaſtum, " ut dextra unum parietem, alterum læva perſtringeret: " quod monſtrum ex omnibus generibus metallorum " lignorumque compoſitum ferebatur. Interioris delubri " parietes laminis primo aureis veſtiti, ſuper has argen- " teis, ad poſtremum æreis habebantur, quæ munimento " pretioſioribus metallis forent, &c." Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. cap. 23.

The deſcription of Ruffinus, exaggerated as it may perhaps appear at firſt ſight, derives conſiderable illuſtration and ſupport from the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus; who concludes his deſcription of Alexandria with theſe words. " His accedunt altis ſublata faſ- " tigiis templa; inter quæ eminet Serapêum, quod licet " minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columna- " riis ampliſſimis, et ſpirantibus ſignorum figmentis, " et reliqua operum multitudine ita eſt exornatum, ut " poſt Capitolium, quo ſe venerabilis Roma in æter- " num attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitioſius cernat[s]." P. 265.

[s] Dionyſius Periegetes, ſpeaking of the lake Serbonis in Egypt, adds concerning the Serapeum,

Τῆς πρὸς μὲν ζεφύροιο Μακηδόνιον πτολίεθρον,
Ἔνθα Σινωπίταο Διὸς μεγάλοιο μέλαθρον,

The Image, for the reception of which this illuſtrious Temple was raiſed, was introduced into Egypt from the

Χρυσῷ τιμήεντι κεκασμένον· οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνῃ
Νηὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεώτερον ἄλλον ἴδοιο.

Geogr. Vet. Scriptores Gr. tom. iv. p. 44.

The anonymous Geographer, who lived under Conſtantius and Conſtans, ſpeaking of Alexandria, ſays (according to Gothofredus): Καὶ θεοὶ σέβονται ἐξόχως, καὶ ναὸς Σηράπις ἐκεῖ ἐσίν· ἓν μόνον θέαμα καινὸν ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ. Edit. GOTHOFREDI, p. 18.

And Eunapius, in his Life of Ædeſius, expreſſes ſtrongly the ſame idea: [Ἀντωνῖνος] προὔλεγεν, ὡς μετ' ἐκεῖνον—τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἅγια τῇ Σαράπιδος ἱερὰ πρὸς τὸ σκοτεινὸς καὶ ἄμορφον χωρήσει καὶ μεταβληθήσεται· καί τι μυθώδες καὶ ἀειδὲς σκότος τυραννήσει ΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ. Ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἀπήλεγξεν ἅπαντα. Edit. HIERON. COMMEL. p. 60.

Though we can not from all theſe accounts together form a perfectly clear idea of the Serapeum, yet as the Sebaſtium conſecrated to the honour of Tiberius was built in the ſame city, whilſt the other exiſted in all its ſplendor, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a ſimilar plan was probably adopted in both temples. I ſhall therefore quote the elegant deſcription of Philo Judæus, which ſeems moſt unaccountably to have eſcaped the notice of Father Sicard, Bp. Pococke, and ſeveral other writers on the ſubject of Egyptian Antiquities.

The paſſage to which I allude occurs in the Embaſſy to Caius; where Philo, having contraſted the characters of Tiberius and Caligula, ſhews that mankind were not deficient in acknowledging their great obligations to the former of theſe Emperors, merely becauſe they omitted to erect his ſtatues in the oratories belonging to the Jews.

——— πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ [Tiberio] τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο· καὶ μαρτυρεῖσι καὶ ναοὶ, προπύλαια, προτεμενίσματα, σοαὶ, ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέαι ἢ παλαιαὶ, ἔργα φέρουσι μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Καισαρείων παρευημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, ἐπιβατηρίῳ Καίσαρος νεὼς, ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται, μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος, καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι, κατάπλεως ἀναθημάτων, ἐν γρα-

coaſt of the Euxine Sea, by the firſt Ptolemy. Tacitus, who, as we have before remarked, has preſerved a minute hiſtory of this event, relates that the removal of the ſtatue to Alexandria was accompanied with miraculous circumſtances; and that a Temple ſuitable to the dignity of the city was erected in [the Suburb] Rhacotis, where a chapel dedicated to Serapis and Iſis had formerly ſtood [h]. Now, though he does not ſay that the

φαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ, τέμενος εὐρύτατον, στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἠσκημένον, ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος. Edit. MANGEY, vol. ii. p. 567.

Perhaps it may not be amiſs to add one remark on this paſſage. When Philo aſſerts, that there was no other ſuch temple as the Sebaſtium (οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τέμενος οἷον τὸ Σέβαστιον), his meaning is, as far as appears from the context, that there was no other ſuch temple dedicated to any PRINCE; but he neither compares it with the Holy Temple at Jeruſalem, nor with the celebrated Idol Temple at Alexandria.

[h] "LXXXIII. Origo dei nondum noſtris auctoribus celebrata: Ægyptio-
" rum antiſtites ſic memorant. 'Ptolemæo regi, qui Macedonum primus
'Ægypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriæ recens conditæ mœnia, templaque,
'et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem decore eximio, et majore quam
'humana ſpecie juvenem, qui moneret,' ut, fidiſſimis amicorum in Pontum
" miſſis, effigiem ſuam acciret: lætum id regno, magnamque et inclitam
" ſedem fore, quæ excepiſſet: 'ſimul viſum eumdem juvenem in cœlum
'igne plurimo attolli.' Ptolemæus, omine et miraculo excitus, ſacerdotibus
" Ægyptiorum, quibus mos talia intelligere, nocturnos viſus aperit. Atque
" illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum, Athenienſem, e gente
" Eumolpidarum, quem, ut antiſtitem cærimoniarum, Eleuſine exciverat,
'quænam illa ſuperſtitio, quod numen?' interrogat. Timotheus, quæſitis

building of this Temple commenced immediately upon the arrival of the Idol, yet he ſeems to aſſert, that here the Idol was firſt diſplayed to the admiring multitude: and it is not credible that the Monarch, who had introduced this object of worſhip, would neglect ſuch imme-

" qui in Pontum meaſſent, cognoſcit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul tem-
" plum, vetere inter accolas fama, Jovis Ditis. Namque et muliebrem effi-
" giem adſiſtere, quam plerique Proſerpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemæus, ut
" ſunt ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi ſecuritas rediit, voluptа-
" tum quam religionum appetens, negligere paullatim, aliaſque ad curas
" animum vertere: donec eadem ſpecies terribilior jam, et inſtantior, ' exi-
' tium ipſi regnoque' denuntiaret, ' ni juſſa patrarentur.' Tum legatos et
" dona Scydrothemidi regi (is tunc Sinopenſibus imperitabat) expediri ju-
" bet; præcipitque navigaturis, ' ut Pythium Apollinem adeant.' Illis
" mare ſecundum: ſors oraculi haud ambigua: ' Irent, ſimulacrumque pa-
' tris ſui reveherent, ſororis relinquerent.'

" LXXXIV. Ut Sinopen venere, munera, preces, mandata regis ſui Scy-
" drothemidi allegant. Qui diverſus animi, modo numen paveſcere, modo
" minis adverſantis populi terreri; ſæpe donis promiſſiſque legatorum flec-
" tebatur. Atque interim triennio exacto, Ptolemæus non ſtudium, non
" preces omittere. Dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus
" augebat. Tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ' ne deſtinata deo
' ultra moraretur.' Cunctantem varia pernicies, morbique et manifeſta
" cœleſtium ira, graviorque in dies fatigabat. Advocata concione, ' juſſa
' numinis, ſuos Ptolemæique viſus, ingruentia mala' exponit. Vulgus ad-
" verſari regem, invidere Egypto, ſibi metuere, templumque circumſidere.
" Major hinc fama tradidit, ' deum ipſum appulſas litori naves ſponte con-
' ſcendiſſe.' Mirum inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emenſi, Alexan-
" driam appelluntur. Templum pro magnitudine urbis exſtructum, loco
" cui nomen Rhacotis: fuerat illic ſacellum, Serapidi atque Iſidi antiqui-
" tus ſacratum. Hæc de origine et adventu dei celeberrima." Hiſtoriarum Lib. IV. tom. iii. p. 285. edit. Brot.

diate preparation, as was deemed fitting and perhaps neceſſary for its reception. We may therefore with much probability attribute the firſt deſign and commencement of the Serapeum to Ptolemy Soter.

And here I may be permitted to notice one circumſtance highly intereſting to every lover of ſacred or of claſſical literature, which diſtinguiſhed his reign: I mean his inſtitution of a public library within the verge of his Palace [l], which was ſituated near the Great, or as we now call it, the New Port. This library formed by Ptolemy Soter I venture to call the firſt Ptolemæan, or Palace-Library, in contradiſtinction to a ſecond, founded afterwards by Ptolemy Philadelphus, called the daughter of the former [k], or the Serapean Library.

[l] One part of the Palace, ſays Strabo, was the Muſeum*: and the ancient author of the Life of Apollonius Rhodius expreſsly mentions the book-rooms, or library, belonging to it †. The keeper of theſe literary treaſures in the time of Ptolemy Soter, as Suidas informs us, was Zenodotus the Epheſian ‡. Strabo aſſerts that Ariſtotle was the firſt perſon who inſtituted a library, and that the Ptolemies only copied his example §.

* Τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν, καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. STRABO, p. 1143.

† Βιβλιοθήκαι τοῦ Μουσείου. Argonautic. edit. BRUNCK, p. xi.

‡ Ζηνόδοτος Ἐφέσιος, ἱστοριοδὸς καὶ γραμματικὸς, μαθητὴς τοῦ Φιλητᾶ, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου γεγονὼς τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Ὁμήρου διορθωτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΩΝ προῦστη, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Πτολεμαίου ἐπαίδευσεν. SUIDÆ Lex. tom. ii. p. 7.

§ [Ἀριστοτέλης] πρῶτος, ὧν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία, καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας Βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. STRABO, p. 906.

[k] ——— πρώτῃ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Βρυχίῳ οἰκοδομηθείσῃ. Ἔτι δὲ ὕστερον ἑτέρᾳ

But to return to our account of the SERAPEUM. Whatever might be the ſtate in which this new edifice was left at the deceaſe of Ptolemy Soter, there is good authority for aſſerting, that it was completed in the following reign. I ſhall not diſcuſs the queſtion in what period of the reign of Philadelphus his library was formed[1]. Thoſe, who deſire to ſee the arguments on each ſide of this queſtion, may conſult the laborious inveſtigations of Hody and Voſſius. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe to ſhew from ancient evidence, that a library, bearing the name of the *Serapean*, exiſted in his time at Alexandria. Now this, if I miſtake not, was a conſtituent part of the Serapeum itſelf.

The prevailing teſtimony is, that ſome tranſlation of the Hebrew Scriptures was made under the direction of this Monarch, and repoſited in his library at Alexandria; and we have poſitive evidence, that the library, in which it was preſerved, was in the Serapeum. I will ſubjoin the words of Tertullian and Chryſoſtom, which directly prove this point.

ἐγένετο Βιβλιοθήκη ἐν τῷ Σεραπίῳ μικροτέρα τῆς πρώτης, ἥτις καὶ Θυγάτηρ ὠνομάσθη αὐτῆς. EPIPHAN. de Pond. et Menſ. edit. Par. 1722. tom. ii. p. 168.

[1] Syncellus refers the inſtitution of the Library to the CXXXII. Olympiad; and in this aſſertion he ſeems to have the general concurrence of Antiquity: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος—ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Βιβλιοθήκην καθίσησιν ρλϛ'. Ὀλυμπιάδι. CHRONOGRAPHIA, edit. Goar. p. 273.

" Hodie apud Serapæum, Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum " ipſis Hebraicis literis exhibentur[m]." TERTULL. Apol. c. xviii. p. 182. Edit. Havercamp.

——Καὶ ἵνα μάθητε, ὅτι ἐχ ἁγιάζει τὸν τόπον τὰ βιβλία, ἀλλὰ βέβηλον ποιεῖ τῶν συνιόντων ἡ προαίρεσις· ἱστορίαν ὑμῖν διηγήσομαι παλαιάν. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος τὰς πανταχόθεν βίβλους συναγαγὼν, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις εἰσὶ γραφαὶ περὶ Θεοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσαι καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης, μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἡρμήνευσεν αὐτὰς δι' ἐκείνων· καὶ ΑΠΕΘΕΤΟ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἕλλην ὁ ἀνήρ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐκεῖ τῶν πρόφητῶν αἱ ἑρμηνευθεῖσαι βίβλοι μένουσι· τί οὖν, ἅγιος ἔσται τοῦ Σεράπιδος ὁ ναὸς διὰ τὰ βιβλία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἔχει τὴν οἰκείαν ἁγιότητα· τῷ τόπῳ δὲ οὐ μεταδίδωσι, διὰ τὴν τῶν συνιόντων ἐκεῖ μιαρίαν[n]." CHRYSOST. Edit. Fronton. Ducæi, tom. i. p. 443.

[m] " Verborum iſtorum, *Hodie apud Serapæum Ptolemæi Bibliothecæ cum* " *ipſis Hebraicis literis exhibentur*, hunc ſenſum eſſe puto: *in Bibliotheca Pto-* " *lemæi, quæ apud Serapæum eſt, aſſervantur* * *Scripturæ Judaicæ ab Inter-* " *pretibus* lxxii. *converſæ*." HODIUS, de Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 225.

* " *Literæ* pro *Scriptis* apud Ciceronem ad Att. *Quod meis omnibus literis in Pompeiana laude* " *eſſet perſtrictus*; id eſt, meis omnibus Scriptis. Et *Hebraica* pro *Judaicis*, ut *Hebræa terra*, pro " *terrâ Judæorum* apud Tacitum." Ibid.

[n] Whatever be the authority of Eutychius and Philaſtrius Brixienſis, it goes directly to the ſame point. For, having both of them mentioned the

If then the buildings of the Serapeum were ſo far advanced in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus as to contain a library, which was but an ornamental part, ſuch an adventitious ornament muſt ſurely have been poſterior in date to the Temple, which was the original and chief object of the founder. It is however to be obſerved, that the library, deſigned by a Monarch ſo eminent for his love of magnificence°, and his eager-

making of the LXXII. Verſion at Alexandria, they add, that, when finiſhed, it was repoſited in the Serapean library.

جمع الكتب وختمها تحت خاتمه وصيرها في هيكل صنم يقال له سرابيون.

"Libros in unum collectos, et annulo ſuo ſignatos in Templo Idoli, "SERAPIS dicti, repoſuit [Ptol. Philadelphus]." EUTYCHII Annales, tom. i. p. 296.

——— "Editionem—juſſit conſcribi [Ptolemæus] atque poni in TEM-"PLUM, ut venientibus de Achaia, de Græcia, atque aliis provinciis philo-"ſophis, poëtis, et hiſtoriographis cupientibus, legendi copia non negare-"tur." PHILASTRIUS BRIXIENSIS, Hæreſ. 90.

Epiphanius's teſtimony will be noticed hereafter.

° Philadelphus, according to Appian,—καὶ πορίσαι διηνοταῖος ἦν βασιλέων, καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος, καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλεργότατος. APPIAN. edit. Amſtel. Præf. vii.—And Philo Judæus ſpeaks fully to the ſame purpoſe:

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς, [δεύτερος] μὲν ἦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρε τῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόντος· ἀρεταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πάντων, οὐχὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι ποτε γεγενημένων ἄριστος, ἔ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοσαύταις ὕστερον γενεαῖς ᾄδεται τὸ κλέος, πολλὰ δείγματα καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἐν παροιμίαις εἶδει τὰς ὑπερόγκες φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλας κατασκευὰς, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΟΥΣ ἀπ' ἐκείνε καλεῖσθαι. Edit. Mangey, tom. ii. p. 138.

neſs in collecting books [p], could not have been a ſmall and inconſiderable portion of the whole ſtructure: it probably comprehended one ſide or more of thoſe magnificent courts, which excited the admiration of Ammianus Marcellinus. We muſt therefore allow it to be highly probable, that the edifice in its utmoſt extent, if not originally planned, was at leaſt finiſhed by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

After the death of Philadelphus, the kingdom of the Ptolemies declined, if not in ſtrength and opulence, at leaſt in the character and abilities of its monarchs. The genius of this Prince might indeed continue to operate after his deceaſe; and ſome of his great deſigns might ſtill be carried on by the force and direction, which they originally derived from him. And in truth ſome authors contend, that Euergetes and other ſucceeding princes ſupplied the treaſures with which the library was ſtored: an aſſertion very probable, if reſtrained to the increaſe and additions, which from time to time it might receive at their hands. But hiſtory, which exhibits a diſguſting recital of their luxury and profligacy, has recorded no

[p] Athenæus ſpeaking of Neleus, as the fortunate poſſeſſor of Ariſtotle's library, adds,——['Αριστοτέλη τε τὸν φιλόσοφον, καὶ τὸν τούτῳ διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλία'] παρ' ἃ πάντα φησὶ πριάμενος ὁ ἡμιδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, Φιλάδελφος δ' ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν 'Αθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ 'Ρόδου, εἰς τὴν καλὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν μετήγαγε. Edit. Dalechamp. p. 3.

eminent monument of art, or ſplendid achievement of valour or policy, by which their names were diſtinguiſhed.

At length, after the Ptolemæan dynaſty had continued about two hundred and fifty years, Egypt fell before that Power, which was now rapidly advancing towards univerſal dominion, and, upon the death of the tenth Ptolemy, Alexandria was ſubdued by the arms of Cæſar. Although the hiſtory of this conqueror contains nothing immediately relative to the Serapeum, yet as the glory of his achievements in Egypt is unfortunately ſullied by the conflagration of the Alexandrian library [q],

[q] Of the deſtruction of this library we have the moſt particular accounts in Plutarch and Oroſius, which I ſhall therefore produce for the ſatisfaction of the learned reader.

——— Ἀχίλλας φυγὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, περιῆσησιν αὐτῷ [Cæſari] βαρὺν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοστῷ τοσαύτην ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. Ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθείς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπῳκοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Δεύτερον δὲ, περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον, ἠναγκάσθη διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθειρε. PLUTARCHI Opera, edit. Reiſke, tom. iv. p. 258.

——— "Achillas dux regius, imbutus ſemel Pompeii ſanguine, Cæſaris "quoque necem meditabatur. Nam juſſus exercitum dimittere, cui præ- "erat, viginti millium armatorum, non modo ſprevit imperium, verum et "aciem direxit. In ipſo prælio regia claſſis forte ſubducta, jubetur (a Cæ- "ſare) incendi. Ea flamma cum partem quoque urbis invaſiſſet, QUADRIN- "GENTA MILLIA LIBRORUM, proximis forte ædibus condita, exuſſit." OROSIUS, vi. 15.

The teſtimonies of Aulus Gellius and Ammianus Marcellinus, with re-

the Reader ſhould be reminded, that the building then deſtroyed was ſituated in the Bruchium, and is the ſame which we have diſtinguiſhed by the name of the firſt, or Palace-Library; an edifice remote from that erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus, which remained from this time the only royal library of Alexandria.

The dreadful loſs ſuſtained by literature in conſequence of this conflagration would aſſuredly be exaggerated by ſuppoſing, that, of the four hundred thouſand volumes thus conſumed, no other copies exiſted elſewhere. But, on the contrary, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in the Serapeum were placed, if not the moſt precious autographs, yet at leaſt tranſcripts of the moſt valuable and popular works. Others equally celebrated would quickly be collected from various quarters; but the literary ſtores of the Egyptian capital were munificently repleniſhed during the reign of Cleopatra. From the hands of her enamoured conqueror this Princeſs received the rival collection of Pergamus[r]: and where can we ſuppoſe her to have placed ſuch a gift, beſtowed by

gard to the number of the books deſtroyed, will be produced in a ſubſequent part of this Volume.

[r] ——— Καλουσίους δὲ, Καίσαρος ἑταῖρος, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ προὔφερε· χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου Βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἁπλῶν ἦσαν. PLUTARCHI Opera, tom. v. p. 202.

her beloved Antony, except in the only repoſitory then exiſting which was dignified by the appellation of a Royal Library?

We are obliged by the expreſs teſtimony of Strabo to acknowledge, that the luſtre of the Serapeum was in his time ſomewhat obſcured: but as he aſſigns the reaſon for this, namely a love of novelty then prevalent among the people[s], we may ſuppoſe that the neglect did not continue long. The ſame people, not many years after this period, to demonſtrate their returning reſpect for their favourite deity Serapis, cruelly celebrated his anniverſary by the martyrdom of an Evangeliſt. It was at this ſeaſon of general feſtivity in Alexandria[t], that St. Mark expired in torments, under the hands of a bigotted and ſanguinary populace.

[s] ——— Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμμένα ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν ναῶν καίνωσιν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον, καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελεῖσθαι, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΩΛΙΓΩΡΗΤΑΙ. STRABO, p. 1145.

[t] Achilles Tatius, in his Ἐρωτικὰ, after giving a beautiful deſcription of Alexandria, repreſents Clitophon as having been preſent at one of theſe ſplendid feſtivals. Ἦν δέ πως καὶ κατὰ δαίμονα ἱερομηνία τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ, ὃν Δία μὲν Ἕλληνες, Σέραπιν δὲ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι· ἦν δὲ καὶ πυρὸς ἀφθονία· καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον ἐθεασάμην· ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος κατεδύετο, καὶ νὺξ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἀνέτελλεν ἥλιος κατακερματίζων. Τότε γὰρ εἶδον πόλιν ἐρίζουσαν περὶ κάλλους οὐρανῷ. Edit. Salmaſii, p. 277.

In a manner leſs cruel, at leaſt, if not leſs reprehenſible, did the worſhippers of Serapis contrive to extend his reputation, at the period when the Emperor Veſpaſian viſited the city. The circumſtances of that extraordinary tranſaction have been already alluded to; and its celebrity will warrant the concluſion, that the Idol was now poſſeſſed of great credit and influence, and had fully re-eſtabliſhed his ancient dominion.

Serapis is not noticed in Hiſtory from this period till the reign of Commodus, when, according to Euſebius, his temple was in danger of being conſumed by fire [a].

In the following century it witneſſed the triumph of Chriſtian fortitude over the inſults of Pagan ſuperſtition. On the hundred ſteps, by which the votaries of Serapis were aſcending to bow themſelves before their Idol, did Origen boldly withſtand the multitude who urged him to join in their rites, and even converted

[a] "Anno 2do. Commodi Imp. Templum Serapidis Alexandriæ incen-"ſum." This teſtimony of the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, which is preſerved only in the Latin tranſlation of Jerome, is falſely tranſlated by Cave, "[In "the ſecond year of Commodus,] the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria was "burnt down." Lives of the Primitive Fathers, vol. i. p. 320. *Incenſum Templum*, is an expreſſion exactly ſimilar to the *incenſâ urbe* of Virgil, (Æn. ii. 327.) which means a *city on fire*, not a *city burnt*. And it is certain, from indiſputable evidence, that the Serapeum exiſted after this time in very great ſplendor.

the inſtruments of their unhallowed pageant into memorials of that Saviour who overcame the world[x].

But the pure light of the Goſpel was now diſperſing the gloom of Paganiſm, and the tutelar deity of Alexandria was ſoon to be deprived of his uſurped dominion. The firſt ſignal of his diſgrace and downfall was the removal of the Nilometer from his temple, by the command of Conſtantine[y]. His final ruin was accompliſhed by the Archbiſhop Theophilus, who zealouſly executed

[x] ——πολλὰ λέγεται πεπονθέναι ὑπὲρ τῆ ἁγίᾳ λόγᾳ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὀνόματος τῆ Χριςῆ, τῦτο μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλάκις συρόμενος, ἀνειδιζόμενος, βασάνοις ἀνηκέςοις ὑποβαλλόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ καιρῷ ποτε ξυρήσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῆ Σεραπίε καλεμένε τῆ αὐτῶν εἰδώλε καθίσαντες, τὸν αὐτὸν προσέταξαν θαλὲς φοινίκων ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀθεμιτεργεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν τῷ εἰδώλῳ ἀνιᾶσι· τοιῦτον γὰρ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ πεπαῤῥησιασμένῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἐ δείσας, ἐδὲ διςάσας, ἐβόα, λέγων· ΔΕΥΤΕ, ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ. EPIPHAN. tom. i. p. 524.

[y] "Καὶ μέλλοντα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς [Conſtantinus] ἐπιμελέςερος ὢν περὶ τὰ Χριςιανῶν, ἀπεςρέφη τὰς ἑλληνικὰς θρησκείας· καὶ παύει μὲν τὰ μονομαχία· εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐνεπίθετο. Λεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἄρα ὁ Σάραπις εἴη ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνάγων ἐπὶ ἀρδεία τῆς Αἰγύπτε, τῷ τὸν πῆχυν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆ Σαράπιδος κομίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν πῆχυν Ἀλέξανδρου μετατιθέναι ἐκέλευσε. Τῶν δὲ φημιζόντων, ὡς ἐκ ἀναβήσεται ὁ Νεῖλος ὀργῇ τῆ Σαράπιδος, ἥτε ἄνοδος τῆ ποταμοῦ τῷ τε ἐξῆς ἔτει καὶ εἰς τὸ μεταῦτα ἐγίνετό τε καὶ γίνεται· ἔργῳ τε δείκνυται, ὡς ἐ διὰ θρησκείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὄρες τῆς προνοίας, ἡ τῆ Νείλε ἀνάβασις γίνεται." SOCRATES, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. xviii.

That Serapis was conſidered (by the Ægyptians) as the uncontrouled deity of the Nile, is aſſerted by Ariſtides the Rhetorician:

Οὗτος [i. e. Serapis] ἄγει Νεῖλον ὥρᾳ θέρες, οὗτος χαμῶνας ἀνακαλεῖ. ORAT. in Serapidem, edit. Flor. p. 100.

the decree of Theodoſius againſt his image and temple. At this time his idol was broken in pieces, the golden walls which enſhrined him, laid in ruins[z]; and, in the ſubſequent reign of Arcadius, a Chriſtian church was erected on the ſpot which had been occupied by the temple[a].

But though the temple, which formed a part of the Serapeum, was thus raſed to the ground; the religious zeal of Theophilus did not prompt him to deſtroy the remainder of the edifice[b]. Its ſpacious courts and ſtately columns ſtill continued to be the admiration of the world. This we collect from the Arabic hiſtorians, whom we are ſoon to take for our guides.

[z] Τῷ δὴ Σαραπείῳ μόνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑφείλοντο [Chriſtiani], διὰ βάρος τῶν λίθων· ἐ γὰρ ἦσαν εὐμετακίνητοι. EUNAP. Vita Ædeſii, p. 64.

[a] Τὸ μὲν δὴ Σεράπιον ὧδε ἦλω, καὶ μετ' ὀ πολὺ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκευάσθη, Ἀρκαδίῳ τῷ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. SOZOMEN. lib. vii. c. 15.

[b] That the exterior courts remained after the deſtruction of the temple by Theophilus, is evident from a quotation preſerved in Evagrius. For the ſhocking circumſtance, which Priſcus relates to have happened in the Serapeum, was undoubtedly poſterior to this event.——— ἱστορεῖ Πρίσκος ὁ Ῥήτωρ, φθῆναι τηνικαῦτα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας, ἰδεῖν τε τὸν δῆμον ὀμόσε κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων χωρῆντα· τῆς τε στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν σάσιν διακωλύειν βιαζομένης, λίθων βολαῖς αὐτὸς χρήσασθαι· τρέψασθαί τε τούτους καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ἀναδραμόντας ἐκπολιορκῆσαι, καὶ πυρὶ ζῶντας παραδῶναι. EVAGR. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. v.

In the preceding account, formed from the ſcanty materials ſupplied by Greek and Roman writers, no attempt has been made to fix the SITE of the Serapeum. It is indeed a difficulty which ſome writers have acknowledged, and others avoided; and thoſe who profeſs to decide the queſtion, have been more prodigal of conjecture than of proof[c]. My own ſentiments on this ſubject I reſerve for another Section. I will cloſe this by requeſting the reader's attention to the conduct of the two firſt Ptolemies; which it may be uſeful to recollect in the courſe of our future inquiries. For their zealous

[c] Norden ſays, that he has endeavoured in vain to inform himſelf concerning the Site of the Serapeum. "Le Tombeau d'Alexandre, [dit-il] "qui, au rapport d'un auteur du quinzième ſiècle, ſubſiſtoit encore alors, "et étoit reſpecté des Sarazins, ne ſe voit plus: la tradition même du "peuple en eſt entièrement perdue. J'ai cherché ſans ſuccès ce Tom-"beau: je m'en ſuis informé inutilement. Une pareille découverte eſt "peut-être reſervée à quelque autre voyageur. Il en eſt de même du "SERAPEUM. Ses ruines peuvent repoſer ſous quelqu'une des buttes, "dont j'ai fait mention. Mais je n'ai rien apperçu de ce qui a pu appar-"tenir à ce Temple ſuperbe." Tom. i. p. 23.

Bp. Pococke, whoſe inquiſitiveneſs and ſagacity have been univerſally, and juſtly, applauded, does not even mention the Serapeum, when he endeavours to fix the ſituation of the moſt remarkable edifices in ancient Alexandria *. Father Sicard places it in the ſuburb Necropolis †; and D'Anville on the high eminence in the north-weſt part of the city ‡. But neither of theſe French writers founds his hypotheſis on any ſatisfactory evidence.

* Vol. i. p. 4, 5. † Lettres édifiantes, tom. v. p. 478. ‡ Mémoires ſur l'Egypte, p. 58.

ſupport of men of talents and learning theſe Princes have been deſervedly celebrated in every ſucceeding age; but in doing this they had aſſuredly ſomething more in view than merely to gratify their taſte for literature, or to obtain a ſplendid name among the munificent patrons of art and ſcience. There appears at leaſt to be an evident and appropriate benefit, which they were well aware this meaſure would confer upon their new kingdom. The ſituation of their capital had been happily choſen for the centre of univerſal commerce. But to obtain the full advantage of this great deſign, the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the native Egyptians became neceſſary: and the introduction of foreign letters and arts would preſent itſelf as an obvious policy, to ſubdue their unſocial temper, and to prepare them for that mutual accommodation and general intercourſe, which are required in a commercial people. The ſame object would likewiſe be promoted by a communion of religious worſhip: and in this point we may obſerve the addreſs of the firſt Ptolemy in conciliating his new ſubjects, and flattering the ancient manners of the country. The admonition to eſtabliſh Serapis in Egypt was pretended to have been communicated to the Monarch in a myſterious dream, which he ſubmitted not to Grecian ſoothſayers, but to ſages of their own nation; and, to enſure to the foreign deity a favourable reception among them, he was made to exchange his

Attic titles for an Egyptian name[d]. The Temple likewiſe, which was deſtined for his abode, ſeemed to offer a fair occaſion to this Prince for introducing the architecture of his country to notice and favour. What the diſtinguiſhing feature of this Building was, has already been ſhewn; and from its ſingular character it is probable, that the founder's deſign was to produce a new example of art, in which the genius of each country ſhould be happily united, and the native boldneſs of the Egyptian manner combined with the graces and beauties of Grecian elegance.

[d] ——— ἐπεὶ δὲ κομισθεὶς ἄφθη [ὁ Κολοσσὸς], συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννίτην Πλάτωνος εἶναι ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ Δράκοντι, πείθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς ἑτέρου θεῶν ἀδύνου, ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΗΚΕΝ, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐκτήσατο, τὸν ΣΑΡΑΠΙΝ. PLUT. Περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδ. p. 68.

SECT. V.

ONE Digreſſion, ſays the Arabian proverb, is the parent of another [e]. In a work, of which amuſement is the chief end, digreſſions may be admitted with little reſerve. Neither are they to be altogether excluded from treatiſes on graver ſubjects and of a more regular form, if the opinions of the writer can by theſe means

[e] الحديث ذو شجون.—See page 353. of Profeſſor Pocock's "Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum:" an invaluable work, of which a more correct edition is now printing at the Clarendon Preſs, and will be publiſhed with all convenient expedition. Learned foreigners always ſpeak of this "Specimen" with the higheſt commendation. Reiſke, in one place *, calls it LIBELLUS AUREUS; and in another †, that great Orientaliſt thus deſcribes it—"Pertinet huc ſupra jam laudatus Pocockii Liber, Specimen Hiſtoriæ "Arabum. Eſt LIBELLUS INCOMPARABILIS. Hiſtoriam Arabum Paga- "norum exponit ex Abulfeda.——In Theologia Muhammedana tradenda "excellit; et eſt plenus literaturæ Arabicæ, bonæque frugis. Ex hoc Li- "bro *Salius* concinnavit illa decantata Prolegomena ad Al-Corani ſuam "Anglicam verſionem."

It is a curious circumſtance, that the new edition of the "Specimen" is printing from a copy prepared for the preſs by *Sale* himſelf, and accidentally purchaſed a few years ſince in the metropolis: and it may not, perhaps, be improper to inform the public, that, beſides the advantage of *Sale*'s emendations, this edition will be enriched with an hiſtorical Index, and a fine Print of Pocock, from an original in the Bodleian library.

* Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 227. † Ibid. p. 228.

be more effectually illuſtrated and confirmed; if he can lead his reader through theſe deviations inſenſibly on towards the main object and end of his inquiry.

Such are the biographical digreſſions which are conſtantly interſperſed by Abulpharajus throughout ONE of his Univerſal Hiſtories. To his method of introducing theſe occaſional epiſodes we owe the only account, we poſſeſs, of the fruitleſs attempt of Philoponus to preſerve the ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY. The application of the Chriſtian philoſopher to Amru, the General of Omar, is thus recorded by the Arabian hiſtorian.

فصل

* * * * * * * * * * * *

عاش [يحيي المعروف بغرماطيقوس] الي ان فتح عمرو بن العاص مدينة الاسكندرية ودخل علي عمرو وقد عرف موضعه من العلوم فاكرمه عمرو وسمع من الفاظه الفلسفية التي لم تكن للعرب بها انسة ما هاله ففتن به وكان عمرو عاقلا حسن الاستماع صحيح الفكر فلازمه وكان لايفارقه ثم قال له يحيي يوما انك قد احطت بحواصل الاسكندرية وختمت علي كل الاصناف الموجودة بها فما لك به انتفاع فلا اعارضك فيه وما لا انتفاع لك به فنحن اولي به فقال له عمرو ما الذي تحتاج اليه قال كتب الحكمة التي في خزاين الملوكية فقال له عمرو ما لا يمكنني ان امر فيها الا بعد استيذان امير المومنين عمر ابن الخطاب وكتب الي عمر وعرفه قول يحيي فورد عليه كتاب عمر يقول

فيه واما الكتب التي ذكرتها فان كان فيها ما يوافق كتاب
الله نفي كتاب الله عنه غني وان كان فيها ما يخالف
كتاب الله فلا حاجة اليه فتقدم باعدامها فشرع عمرو ابن
العاص في تغريقها علي حمامات الاسكندرية واحراقها في مواقدها
فاستيقدت في مدة ستة اشهر فاسمع ما جري واعجب [f]

"SECTIO" [vel DIGRESSIO].

* * * * * * * * *

"Vixit [Johannes, quem vocamus nos Grammaticum,] "donec caperet Amrus Ebno'l Aſi Alexandriam, et ad "Amrum acceſſit; qui, cognito quem in ſcientiis lo- "cum teneret, honore ipſum affecit, audiitque de ſer- "monibus ejus philoſophicis, quibus aſſueti non fuerant "Arabes, quod eum ad ſtuporem redigeret, quoque per- "celleretur; fuit autem Amrus intellectu præditus, ad "res percipiendas promptus, conceptibus claris; adhæſit "ergo illi, neque ab eo diſceſſit. Deinde die quodam "dixit illi Johannes, Circumiviſti tu omnia Alexandriæ "repoſitoria, omniaque rerum genera quæ in iis repe- "riuntur obſignaſti; quod ad illa igitur, quæ tibi profu- "tura ſint, nolo tibi contradicere, at quæ nulli tibi uſui "futura ſunt, nobis potius convenient. Dixit illi Am- "rus, Quid eſt quo opus tibi ſit? Dixit illi; Libri philo- "ſophici, qui in gazophylaciis [Bibliothecis] regiis repe- "riuntur. Hoc, inquit Amrus, eſt de quo ſtatuere non

[f] Hiſt. Dynaſt. Arab. p. 180.

" poſſum. Illud [petis] de quo ego quid in mandatis
" dare non poſſum, niſi poſt veniam ab Imperatore fide-
" lium Omaro Ebno'l Chattab impetratam. Scriptis ergo
" ad Omarum literis, notum ei fecit, quid dixiſſet Jo-
" hannes, perlatæque ſunt ad ipſum ab Omaro literæ,
" in quibus ſcripſit—*Quod ad libros quorum mentio-*
" *nem feciſti: ſi in illis contineatur, quod cum libro*
" *Dei conveniat, in libro Dei [eſt] quod ſufficiat abſque*
" *illo; quod ſi in illis fuerit quod libro Dei repugnet,*
" *neutiquam eſt eo [nobis] opus, jube igitur e medio*
" *tolli.* Juſſit ergo Amrus Ebno'l Aſi diſpergi eos per
" balnea Alexandriæ, atque illis calefaciendis comburi:
" ita ſpatio ſemeſtri conſumpti ſunt. Audi quid factum
" fuerit et mirare[s]."

" The ſentence of Omar," ſays Mr. Gibbon, " was
" executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper
" or parchment were diſtributed TO THE FOUR THOU-
" SAND BATHS; AND SUCH WAS THEIR INCREDIBLE
" MULTITUDE, THAT SIX MONTHS WERE BARELY
" SUFFICIENT FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF THIS PRE-
" CIOUS FUEL. Since the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius
" have been given to the world in a Latin verſion, the
" tale has been repeatedly tranſcribed; and every ſcho-
" lar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irrepara-

[s] Hiſt. Dynaſt. Lat. p. 144.

" ble ſhipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius, " of antiquity. For my own part, I am ſtrongly tempted " to deny both the fact and its conſequences. The fact " is indeed marvellous; ' Read and wonder!' ſays the " hiſtorian himſelf[h]." Edit. 4to. vol. v. p. 343.

" This anecdote," ſubjoins Mr. Gibbon in a note on this paſſage, " will be in vain ſought in the annals of " Eutychius, and the Saracenic hiſtory of Elmacin. The " ſilence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moſlems " is leſs concluſive from their ignorance of Chriſtian li- " terature."

But firſt, we may aſk, is the ſtory of Abulpharajus itſelf correctly reported by Mr. Gibbon? Surely it is an unfair inference, which he has made from the hiſtorian's words, that *all* the four thouſand baths of the city were ſupplied with theſe books for fuel. Their diſtribution amongſt any number of the baths would juſtify the expreſſion of Abulpharajus, and the meaning which I would affix to it. He does not ſay, that *ſix months were barely ſufficient for the conſumption:*

[h] " It would be endleſs to enumerate the moderns who have wondered " and believed: but I may diſtinguiſh with honour the rational ſcep- " ticiſm of Renaudot (Hiſt. Alex. Patriar. p. 170.)" ' Hiſtoria . . . . . ' habet aliquid ἄτοπον, ut Arabibus familiare eſt.' GIBBON, vol. v. p. 343. N.

this is a falſe comment upon a miſtaken text. The Arabic hiſtorian ſays nothing like it; he ſimply relates the fact, that in half a year the books were entirely conſumed: but how many baths were employed in their deſtruction, he neither ſays nor inſinuates. The incredible multitude of the volumes therefore vaniſhes at once. If during the whole time which elapſed, whilſt theſe precious monuments of antiquity were gradually conſuming, no ſentiment of remorſe or compunction aroſe in the breaſts of the conquerors, no wiſh to reſcue the ſtill remaining treaſures of this ineſtimable Library from further ravage and deſtruction, well might Abulpharajus exclaim, " Hear and wonder!" Hear and wonder at the brutal ignorance, and unrelenting fury of the barbarians!

Secondly, even if I ſhould grant to Mr. Gibbon, that we have *only* the evidence of Abulpharajus for the general fact, I ſee no ground for *rational ſcepticiſm* with regard to its reality. I will concede even more; I will allow that Abulpharajus HIMSELF does not mention the circumſtance in his *Syriac Univerſal Hiſtory*, though he generally deſcribes the period when it happened.

The nature of theſe two Univerſal Hiſtories, the one written in Arabic, the other in Syriac, may be aptly illuſtrated by two modern publications.

A Work has lately been given to the public, which, whether we conſider the judicious ſelection and ſkilful arrangement of facts; the proofs brought forward to atteſt them; the ſagacity diſplayed in tracing their relations and dependencies; the ſevere logic with which all the inferences are deduced; or the manly eloquence with which they are urged; deſerves the praiſe and the gratitude, not of Britons only, but of every friend to truth, to juſtice, and to mankind. This maſterly performance is the Hiſtory of the Politicks of Great Britain and France, written in German and Engliſh by my learned and excellent friend Mr. Herbert Marſh[1]. Of the Engliſh publication he thus obſerves: "The work "now preſented to the Britiſh public may, in one ſenſe, "be called a tranſlation, as it was originally written in "German: but as it proceeds from the author himſelf, it "has an equal claim to the title of an original. In fact "it contains not a literal tranſlation, but only the ſame "narrative drawn up in another language, and ſup-"ported by the ſame documents. In various places "new matter has been added, and ſeveral alterations "have been made in the arrangement of the materials.

[1] It is with great pleaſure that I can announce to the lovers of theological learning, that the laborious and able tranſlator of Michaelis has completed the work, from the firſt part of which he has derived the moſt merited fame. The concluding volumes are now in the preſs, and will, I doubt not, amply ſatisfy the expectations of the Biblical ſcholar.

" On the other hand, all alluſions to German writers, " with ſome other paſſages, which would have been un- " intereſting if not unintelligible to a Britiſh reader, " have been omitted [k]."

Now this will explain, in ſome degree, what I have to obſerve concerning the two Univerſal Hiſtories of Abulpharajus, the one written in the Syriac language, the other in that of Arabia. They both contain in general the ſame narrative, but with occaſional additions and omiſſions, as appeared to the author moſt intereſting to the claſs of readers, for whom he was writing. Thus many particulars concerning the ſiege and capture of Acca, with the various meſſages which paſſed betwixt our lion-hearted RICHARD and his generous rival SALADIN, are given at large in the Syriac, but entirely paſſed over in the Arabic: on the contrary, the requeſt of Philoponus, and the burning of the Alexandrian library, are given in the Arabic, but omitted in the Syriac. Inſtances of this kind are numerous; and every general ſcholar may judge for himſelf, as both the Hiſtories in the original languages, together with the Latin tranſlations, are before the public. I truſt therefore that we ſhall hear no more of the objection urged by Mr. Gibbon, " that the ſolitary report of a ſtranger, who wrote at the

[k] Pref. p. xx.

" end of ſix hundred years on the confines of Media, is " overbalanced by the ſilence of two annaliſts of a more " early date, both Chriſtians, both natives of Egypt, and " the moſt ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, " has amply[1] deſcribed the conqueſt of Alexandria."

[1] That the reader may judge for himſelf how AMPLE is the deſcription which Eutychius has given of the conqueſt of Alexandria, I have ventured to tranſcribe Pocock's verſion of the whole paſſage.——" Ingreſſi " ſunt Moſlemini Alexandriam, poſtquam in ipſius obſidione menſes qua- " tuordecim inſumſiſſent. Capta jam urbe atque fuga dilapſis qui e Ro- " manis fugerant, profectus eſt Amrus Ebno'l Aſi eos qui per terram fu- " gerant quæſitum. Illi autem ex ipſis qui per mare fugerant Alexan- " driam reverſi, Moſleminos qui in ea reperti ſunt occiderunt. Cumque " eo audito reverſus eſſet Amrus, acri ipſum pugna juxta arcem exce- " perunt; qua ab ipſo capta rurſum ad naves confugerunt Romani. Scrip- " ſit ergo Amrus Ebno'l Aſi ad Omarum Ebno'l Chetabi—*Urbem cepi* " *in qua quid ſit non deſcribam, niſi quod in ipſa repererim palatia quater* " *mille*; *balnea quater mille*; *Judæorum qui tributum ſolvunt quadraginta* " *millia, circos Regios quadringentos, olitores qui olera vendunt duodecies* " *mille. Ipſam vero vi cepi, nullo inito pacto.* Certiorem etiam ipſum fe- " cit, poſcere Moſleminos ipſam ſibi dividendam. Cui reſcribens Omar " Ebno'l Chetabi, conſilium ipſius improbavit, juſſitque ne ipſam illis [ſpo- " liandam] permitteret aut divideret, verum vectigal ipſius in ipſa Moſle- " minis relinqueret, quo ſubſidio ipſis in oppugnandis hoſtibus eſſet. Eam " ergo quo erat ſtatu confirmavit Amrus, numeratiſque incolis tribu- " tum ipſis impoſuit. Porro Ægyptus univerſa in fœdus recepta fuit, tri- " buto binorum aureorum a ſingulis pendendo; neque cuipiam amplius pro " capite ſuo ſolvendum imponebatur (niſi ubi adjiceretur aliquid, eique im- " poneretur ratione terrarum et frugum quas haberet) exceptis Alexandriæ " incolis: illi enim vectigal ac tributum ad arbitrium ejus qui ipſis præſi- " ciebatur pendebant. Capta eſt ſiquidem Alexandria vi, ſine promiſſo, " aut pactis conventis, nullo cum ipſis inito fœdere aut ſponſione. Capta

If Abulpharajus himſelf, in his Syriac Univerſal Hiſtory, has both given the life of Omar and noticed the capture of Alexandria, and yet omitted mentioning the burning of the Library, and even the very name of Philoponus, why might not the two annaliſts do the ſame?

The high literary as well as eccleſiaſtical rank of this illuſtrious Primate of the Eaſt, and the numerous concurrent teſtimonies as well of Mahometans as Chriſtians to the gravity and ſanctity of his character, would in my opinion, even if he were found to ſtand ſingle in his teſtimony, more than overbalance the frivolous cavils of Mr. Gibbon.

But further, to the negative argument of Mr. Gibbon I ſhall venture to oppoſe the poſitive teſtimony of two Arabic hiſtorians, both writers of unqueſtionable authority, and both orthodox profeſſors of the Muſulman faith—MACRISI and ABDOLLATIF; who not only agree in ſtating the fact—the *burning* of the Library, but alſo point out to us the exact ſpot on which the Library ſtood. For after deſcribing the Column, commonly called Pompey's Pillar, and mentioning the adjacent

" eſt autem die Veneris menſis Moharram novilunio, anno Hejræ viceſimo, " nec non Imperii Heraclii viceſimo, qui Chalifatûs Omari Ebno'l Chetabi " octavus fuit." EUTYCHII Annal. tom. ii. p. 316.

ruins of ſome ancient Edifice, they add, that "THERE "WAS THE LIBRARY WHICH AMRU EBN EL AAS "BURNT BY THE COMMAND OF THE KHALIF OMAR[m]." I conclude therefore, that both the *burning*, or more ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *deſpoiling*[n], of the Library by Amru, and its *actual ſituation*, are indiſputably aſcertained.

A ſatisfactory anſwer having now, I hope, been given to the ſceptical inſinuation of Mr. Gibbon, I advance a ſtep farther. As the library deſpoiled by Amru was a ROYAL[o] library, and as the *firſt* Ptolemæan library was unfortunately burnt by Julius Cæſar, this muſt neceſſarily have been the *ſecond* Ptolemæan library; and conſequently part of the *Temple of Serapis*. We have at length then, by the aſſiſtance of Arabic writers, unexpectedly diſcovered the SITE OF THE SERAPEUM; a diſcovery eagerly ſought for by the curious for more

[m] See Mss. of Macriſi in the Bodleian Library, *Pocock*, N°. 394. p. 137. *Marſh*, N°. 149. p. 183. and the printed editions of Abdollatif, p. 62, 63. 8vo. or pag. 110. 112. 4to.

[n] Abulpharajus affirms, that the books were ordered to be diſtributed amongſt the baths, and uſed as fuel for heating them. It being then explicitly ſtated, that they were not burnt IN THE LIBRARY, we may fairly infer, that the edifice itſelf, that is, its walls, rooms, and colonnades, remained, after the books were committed to the flames.

[o] خزايين الملوكية—Bibliothecis REGIIS.—See p. 57.

than a century: and hence ariſes one ſtrong proof, that a knowledge of Arabic may be made peculiarly ſubſervient to the illuſtration of Egyptian antiquities.

But are there no paſſages, it may be aſked, in Greek or Latin authors, which corroborate the evidence of Arabic writers reſpecting the Site of the Serapeum? I anſwer, that certainly there are; though their meaning has hitherto been wholly overlooked, and perhaps would for ever have been loſt in obſcurity, had not a ray of light broken in from the Eaſt. Such, however, is the accumulated force of theſe paſſages, when properly conſidered, as to leave no room to doubt that the Temple of Serapis was contiguous to what is commonly called the Pillar of Pompey.

SECT. VI.

I NOW return from thoſe ſubordinate objects of diſcuſſion, which however a full inveſtigation of the ſubject evidently demanded, to my primary Inquiry concerning the celebrated Column of Alexandria. When, and by whom, it was erected—to whoſe honour it was dedicated—and what name it ſhould bear, are points ſtill unaſcertained. Yet though no certain proof can be produced, many particular facts may be collected, which will lead to a very probable concluſion.

The magnitude of this Column is ſuch, that if it had originally ſtood unconnected with other buildings, it would never ſurely have eſcaped the notice of ancient hiſtorians: whereas if it conſtituted any part of a ſtructure, like the Serapeum, it might well be included in the general mention of an edifice ſo magnificent and ſtupendous [p]. We have already ſhewn,

[p] An anſwer is hence ſupplied to thoſe authors, who ſuppoſe that this extraordinary monument did not exiſt when Strabo viſited Alexandria *, becauſe we find no mention made of it in his work.

The plain fact ſeems to be, that if it did not ſuit Strabo's plan to de-

* Bp. Pococke, vol. i. p. 8. Shaw, p. 339. Michaelis, edit. Abulfed. Not. p. 94. Wortley Montagu, ſupra, p. 8. &c. &c.

that it muſt have ſtood, at leaſt, in the vicinity of that Temple; and we are ſupported by the opinion

ſcribe the general magnificence of the Serapeum, he *could not* ſpeak of a *ſingle Column* belonging to it, however elegant its form, or large its dimenſions. No argument is therefore to be deduced from *Strabo's ſilence* againſt the exiſtence of Pompey's Pillar in the firſt century. We know from Pliny, that there was an Egyptian Obeliſk of the ſame ſize as that famous one called "Cleopatra's Needle," ſtanding before Cæſar's Temple, when Strabo viſited Alexandria*; but of this alſo he makes no mention whatever; he only *marks the place* where the Temple itſelf ſtood..... ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου τὸ Θέατρον· εἶτα τὸ Ποσειδιον·—εἶτα τὸ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΟΝ, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποθήκας †....

In the ſame manner, when he meant merely to *deſignate the Site* of the Serapeum, he ſays only—Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ‡.... Had Strabo interrupted the thread of his chorographical narrative by ſaying, that there was a very large and lofty Pillar ſtanding either in the area or the front of the Serapeum, without any further deſcription of that moſt magnificent Temple, it would have been very unlike that prudence and ſolid judgment with which he uſually writes. Beſides, we know, that, when he has occaſion to ſpeak of great and magnificent objects, he ſeldom enters into a particular deſcription of their minuter appendages. Thus, he does not even mention the Sphynx, when he deſcribes the three

* "Et alii duo ſunt [*fuerunt*] Obeliſci Alexandriæ in portu ad Cæſaris Templum, quos exci-
"dit Meſtres rex quadragenûm binûm cubitorum. Super omnia acceſſit difficultas mari Ro-
"mam devehendi, ſpectatis admodum navibus. Divus Auguſtus priorem advexerat, miraculique
"gratia Puteolis navalibus perpetuis dicaverat: ſed incendio conſumpta eſt. Divus Claudius
"aliquot per annos aſſervatam, qua Caïus Cæſar importaverat, omnibus quæ unquam in mari
"viſæ ſunt, mirabiliorem, turribus Puteolano ex pulvere exædificatis, perductam Oſtiam, portus
"gratia merſit:" &c. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. iv.

Now, as it is agreed amongſt the learned, that Strabo wrote his Geography during the firſt years of the reign of Tiberius, it follows, that the Obeliſk, which Caligula afterwards tranſported to Rome, was ſtanding before Julius Cæſar's Temple, when Strabo travelled into Egypt.

† STRABO, edit. Amſtel. p. 1144.

‡ Ibid. p. 1145.

of one of the moſt judicious modern travellers, when we ſuppoſe, that with ſome building or other it was originally connected [q]. Moreover its Shaft is of the ſame kind of ſtone with thoſe large pillars, the remains

great Pyramids of Giza. Now, the Sphynx was certainly an object not leſs prominent and ſtriking in the front of the Pyramids, than our Column was, when conſidered in its connection with the Serapeum. Moreover, Strabo mentions the lake of Mœris, and ſays, "it was admirable, being "like a ſea for greatneſs and colour;" yet he adds not a ſyllable reſpecting the two great Pyramids that were in the midſt of it *, and which are both particularly deſcribed by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus †.

* Θαυμαστὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει [Αἴγυπτος] τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην, πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ θαλαττοειδῆ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δὲ ἐστιν ὁρᾶν ἐοικότας τοῖς θαλαττίοις. STRABO, p. 1163.

† Τῶ δὲ λαβυρίνθω τούτω ἐόντος τοιούτω, θώϋμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος ἔτος οἰκοδόμηται. Τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ σταδίοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορῆν τε καὶ νότον, ἑῶσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτη αὐτὴ ἐωϋτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. Ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτὴ, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ. Ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κη ἑστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τῶ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιὰς ἑκατέρη· καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον· καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἕπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. Οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαί εἰσι σταδίου ἑξάπλεθρον. HERODOT. edit. Weſſeling. p. 177.——καλουμένη μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Μοίριδος λίμνη. Ὁ δ' ἐν βασιλεὺς ὀρύξαι ταύτην, κατέλιπεν ἐν μέσῃ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τάφον ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ δύο πυραμίδας, τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς, σταδιαίας τὸ ὕψος· ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέστησεν εἰκόνας λιθίνας, καθημένας ἐπὶ θρόνου. DIOD. SICUL. edit. Weſſeling. tom. i. p. 62.

[q] "Les quatre coins de *l'Obéliſque de Cléopatre* répondent à peu près "aux quatre coins du monde. Mais les coins du Piédeſtal de la *Colonne* "*de Pompée* ſemblent décliner environ de 12 degrés. Il eſt donc proba- "ble, qu'en érigeant cette Colonne, on ne s'eſt réglé que ſur la ſituation "des EDIFICES D'ALENTOUR, et non pas ſur un Méridien, comme on a "fait en érigeant les Pyramides." NIEBUHR, tom. i. p. 39.

of which Pococke ſaw lying ſcattered near it[r]: and the expreſs teſtimony of Arabic writers in a matter where they are certainly competent witneſſes, is, that it ſtood at the northern angle of a great Building of uncertain antiquity, and that four hundred of theſe pillars were ſtanding around it, with which it was ſo connected, that from them it received its popular appellation of *Amûd Iſſawâri*, or, "The Column of the Pillars." They add, that HERE was the Library which Amru deſtroyed by the command of the Khalif Omar. That Library, as I hope it has been already proved, was a part of the ancient Serapeum; and therefore we conclude, upon the poſitive teſtimony of hiſtory, that the Column ſtood within its precincts.

But if we ſhould ſuppoſe for a moment that the Column was unconnected with the Serapeum, and that it was placed in its preſent ſituation after the conqueſt of Egypt by the Romans, our hypotheſis will be incumbered with great and manifeſt improbabilities. For the

[r] "Near it [Pompey's Pillar] are ſome fragments of GRANITE PILLARS, "four feet diameter; and it appears plainly from many old foundations, "that there has been ſome magnificent Building there, in the area of "which, 'tis probable, this Pillar was erected; and ſome Arabian hiſto- "rians (on what authority I know not) call it the Palace of Julius Cæ- "ſar. This famous Pillar is of RED GRANITE." Bp. POCOCKE, vol. i. p. 8.

work was evidently far beyond the reach of private exertions, and the Emperors were little inclined to enrich a provincial city with ſo unparalleled an ornament. On the contrary, they are well known, from the time when they firſt obtained a quiet poſſeſſion of the country, to have frequently deſpoiled it of its treaſures of this very kind. Thus Egypt frequently witneſſed the exportation of her ſtately Obeliſks. This plunder, of which Auguſtus firſt ſet the example, was continued by his ſucceſſors to the age of Conſtantine: nor is there one among them, whoſe hiſtory or character affords the ſlighteſt pretenſions for aſſigning to him the origin of this Column.

We are told by thoſe who have lately taken its dimenſions, and who in modern ages have had the beſt opportunity and means of examination, that its principal member, the Shaft, appears to be of Grecian architecture[a]. If then we exclude the Roman Emperors, ſurely this internal evidence will juſtify our concluſion, that the Æra of the Column is to be found in ſome point of the Ptolemæan dynaſty; for till after the conqueſt of Alexander the arts of Greece were not intro-

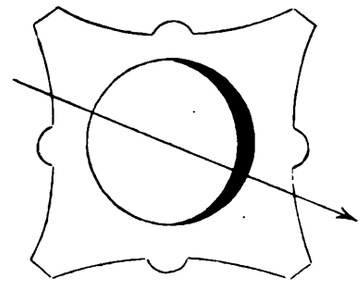
[a] "Le Fût, qui eſt d'un galbe admirable et d'un fort beau poli, excepté "du côté du déſert, qui a ſouffert par les ſables, paroît être fait de la main "des Grecs."—*Rapport ſur la Colonne de Pompée, par le Citoyen Norry, Mémoires ſur l'Egypte, p.* 63.

duced into Egypt. If we conſider the ſecond Monarch of this race, his hiſtory, his diſpoſition, his ability; the connection of the Column with a building confeſſedly founded by him, and the ſameneſs of the character and materials; if we take each of theſe circumſtances diſtinctly, and weigh their accumulated force, there will be little occaſion to heſitate at reſtoring the honour of this magnificent Monument to Ptolemy Philadelphus; an honour indeed, which cannot juſtly be conteſted with him by any character in Greek or Roman hiſtory, either in remote or later ages.

There yet remains to be mentioned one circumſtance in the life of this Prince, which will give additional weight to the preceding concluſion. We are informed by Pliny, that he raiſed an Obeliſk of eighty cubits, as a pledge of his affectionate regard for the memory of Arſinoë[t]. As he exhibited in his capital this ſpecimen of Egyptian architecture, he might wiſh alſo to diſplay to his Egyptian ſubjects the architecture of his own country in its utmoſt magnificence, and to ſuperadd the decorations of a more graceful proportion and a more appropriate ornament. The Obeliſk

[t] "Alexandriæ ſtatuit [Obeliſcum] unum octoginta cubitorum Ptolemæus "Philadelphus.———Hic fuit in Arſinoëo poſitus, munus amoris in con-"jugem, eamdemque ſororem Arſinoën." PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 735, 736. edit. Harduin.

Plan of the Capital



Side of the Desert

" Ce Monument de la Colonne de Pompée, présente un
" ordre Corinthien, et est divisé en quatre parties, piédestal,
" base, fût, et Chapiteau; un Cercle de 2 m. 2 Centim. (6 pieds
" 3 pouces de diametre, et déprimé de 6 centimetres 2 pouces),
" feroit croire qu'il y a eu autrefois un socle dessus, portant peut-
" être la figure du Héros à qui on avoit élevé cette Colonne " —

'Rapport sur la Colonne de Pompée par le Citoyen Norry, p. 63.

Storer sc.

was a naked memorial; but the Column was certainly ſurmounted by the Statue of him to whoſe honour it was erected.

But here we confeſs, that we are unable to advance farther than to point out Him, who was the likelieſt and worthieſt to ſtand on this unrivalled Column. The gigantic Image of Serapis was placed within the Temple. The Obeliſk reared by Philadelphus was a memorial of connubial love. But this Monarch was alſo celebrated for piety towards his Parents, whoſe Statues he was eſpecially careful to multiply and adorn[a]. Whom then can we ſuppoſe to have occupied this diſtinguiſhed place before the Temple of Serapis, and in the view of the whole city, but HIM who was the firſt Monarch of his family, and under whoſe auſpices the tutelar deity was introduced into Egypt?

In the courſe of this Inquiry I have often felt the want of that evidence, which might ſtill be obtained, were the Site of this renowned Temple diligently inveſtigated by able men. In the miſſion of the National Inſtitute I entertained a hope, that at leaſt ſome better

[a] Μητρὶ φίλᾳ καὶ πατρὶ θυώδεας εἵσατο νηούς·
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς χρυσῷ περικαλλέας ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι
Ἵδρυσεν, πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀρωγάς.
THEOCRITUS, Idyll. xvii. ver. 123, &c.

knowledge of Alexandrian antiquities would reſult from the invaſion of Egypt. But this hope was not more fondly conceived than cruelly diſappointed. For, except a deſcription of the PILLAR, with a detail of its dimenſions, nothing has been performed, or even attempted. It had been doubted whether the Eminence, on which it ſtands, be natural or artificial ground: and the judicious Pococke, who noticed certain Ruins near it, hinted that they were the remains of ſome grand Edifice. But theſe hints have been left unimproved, and theſe doubts ſtill remain unſatisfied. Profeſſors of art, and teachers of ſcience, have left muſeums crowded with the ſpoils of Florence and Rome—have received the *fiat* of the Great Nation to inſtruct as well as to ſubdue the world—they have viſited this ſpot, with power to examine it without moleſtation, and certainly with no modeſt reluctance to claim the merit of diſcovery. Yet what new information, uſeful or curious, have they contributed on this ſubject? Certainly none. But whilſt the antiquarian may regret the opportunity that has thus ſtrangely been loſt; whatever the wiſdom of Divine Providence may have determined ſhall be its final iſſue, every friend of humanity cannot but lament the accumulated miſery, which has hitherto reſulted from ſo treacherous an enterprize againſt this devoted country—an enterprize, which though it has eventually called forth the moſt brilliant and unparalleled exertions of Britiſh ſkill, and valour, and mag-

nanimity; yet has not tempered the horrors of war, and rapine, and maſſacre, by the production of one ſingle advantage, either to the cauſe of Literature, to the ferocious Invader himſelf, or to the wretched and unoffending Victims of his faithleſſneſs and fury.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N°. I.

AMUD ISSAWARI.

THE following is the paſſage of Abulfeda, referred to at page 26. with Michaelis's tranſlation, and the *whole* of his Note.—والاسكندرية هي علي شط بحر الروم وبها المنارة المشهورة وبـهـا عـامود السواري وطوله نحو ثلث واربعين ذراعـا——

" *Alexandria eſt ad litus maris mediterranei, habetque*
" *Pharum celebrem, et Columnam Severi, cujus altitudo*
" *eſt quadraginta circiter et trium cubitorum, &c.*" Marginalia, p. 17.

NOTE.

" Columnam Severi] Eſt Columna ſic dicta Pompeii,
" quam delineatam videbis in Pocockiani itinerarii ta-
" bula iv, Nordenianique xi, xii, deſcriptam a pleriſque,
" qui Alexandriam adierunt. Pompeii, cujus ei nomen,
" neſcio quo caſu, tribuitur, eam eſſe non poſſe, monue-
" runt aliqui, nullam enim ejus mentionem facere Strabo-
" nem, alioſque, qui Cæſaris et Auguſti tempore ſatis ad-

" curate de Alexandria expoſuerint. Conjecerunt ergo
" alii, Tito Veſpaſiano poſitam eſſe, aut Hadriano; ſed
" ſunt, ut dixi, conjecturæ. Eo majoris faciendus Abul-
" feda, ex quo diſcimus, ſeculo adhuc xiii nomen *Severi*
" Columnæ hæſiſſe. Nec veri diſſimile, Severo, qui et
" Alexandriam adiit, et maxima in urbem contulit be-
" neficia, ſenatum quoque, quo antea caruerat, ei dedit,
" Statuam a grata urbe erectam. Spartianus in vita Se-
" veri, c. xvii. '*Alexandriam petiit* * * *Alexandrinis jus
" buleutarum dedit, qui ſine concilio, ita ut ſub regibus,
" antea vivebant, uno contenti judice, quem Cæſar de-
" diſſet. Multa præterea his jura mutavit. Jucundam
" ſibi peregrinationem propter religionem Dei Serapidis, et
" propter novitatem animalium et locorum fuiſſe, Severus
" ipſe poſtea oſtendit. Nam et Memphim, et Memnonem,
" et Pyramides, et Labyrinthum diligenter inſpexit.'——
" Græcorum cum eſſet Alexandria, ac diu quoque poſt,
" ſub Arabum imperiis, Græcis in ea multis habitanti-
" bus, inſcriptionibuſque Columnæ adhuc integris, certo
" ſciri, et ad poſteritatem non dubia traditione, ipſoque
" etiam nomine, propalari potuit, cujus eſſet. Severi
" certe nomen Arabs non confinxerit, forte quis fuerit
" Severus ignorans. Videmur ergo jam tandem ali-
" quando de nobiliſſimo antiquitatis monumento aliquid
" certi ſtatuere poſſe: idque adeo novum recentioribus
" et ignotum, ut Reiſkius, vir incredibili doctrina, ne
" intelligeret quidem Abulfedam, literaſque Arabicas

" سواري legens, non de Severo cogitaret, ſed verſioni
" ſuæ hanc ſubjiceret notam: *Columna trabium. Neſcio*
" *cur ita dicta. Pompeii forte intelligitur.* Nempe ad
" radicem سور (Gol. p. 1236.) nomen Severi Arabicis li-
" teris expreſſum revocabat." Ad Tab. Num. 50. p. 94.

The words in the Arabic text of Abulfeda, which Michaelis tranſlates *Columnam Severi*, are عمود السواري *Amûd Iſſawâri.* Now, *Amûd Iſſawâri* is the ſame as *Amûd il Sawâri*, the *L* of the article *Il* being by a well known rule of Grammar changed into *S*, and coaleſcing with the word *Sawâri*[a]. *Al* is the nominative of the Arabic article, and anſwers to ὁ or οἱ in the Greek; *Il* is the genitive, and the ſame as τοῦ, or τῶν. *Amûd* then, as is allowed by every one, ſignifies a COLUMN; *Is* ſtands for *Il*, the genitive caſe of the article *Al*; and *Sawâri* is the word whoſe meaning is ſought for.

Now, *Sawâri* cannot be the Arabic word for *Severus*, becauſe no Arabic writer ever expreſſes the Latin name *Severus* in this manner: and it is particularly in point to obſerve, that Abulfeda himſelf, in his great hiſtorical Work, writes it سيوارس *Sewâros.* My proof is taken from a Ms. of that work preſerved in the Bodleian library, Poc. 303. p. 94. l. 13. The title of the

[a] Vid. ERPENII GRAMM. edit. Golii, p. 22.

Chapter is, ذكر ملوك الروم "An Account of the Kings "of Rome." سيوارس. من القنون ملك ثماني عشرة سنة وفي ايامي بحثت الاساقفة عن عمر الفصح واصلحوا راس الصوم وهلك سيوارس المذكور في منتصف سنة ثلث عشر وخمسماية "*Sewáros*, according to the *Kanún*, reigned eighteen "years: and in his days the Biſhops diſputed con- "cerning Eaſter, and ſettled the commencement of "Lent. And the above-mentioned *Sewáros* died about "the middle of the five hundred and thirteenth year "[of the epocha of Alexander]."

If it ſhould be ſaid, that different modes of ſpelling the word *Severus* prevail in different Arabic authors; as, for inſtance, that Eutychius ſpells it سويرس *Sawéros* [b], Abulpharajus سوارس *Sawáros* [c], and in another place سوريانس *Sawerianus* [d]; I reply, that the final س, or *S*, is conſtantly employed by Arabic writers in expreſſing thoſe Latin names which terminate in *Us*. This rule, I apprehend, holds good *almoſt* without exception. Thus Auguſtus is اغسطوس [e], Tiberius طيباريوس [f], Pilatus فيلاطوس [g], Caius غاييوس [h], Claudius قلوذيوس [i], Veſpaſianus اسفسيانوس [k], Titus طيطوس [l], Domitianus دوميطيانوس [m], Trajanus

[b] Annal. p. 373.
[c] Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 148.
[d] Ibid. p. 125.
[e] Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 109.
[f] Ibid. p. 111.
[g] Ibid. p. 112.
[h] Ibid. p. 115.
[i] Ibid. p. 115.
[k] Ibid. p. 117.
[l] Ibid. p. 118.
[m] Ibid. p. 118.

طريانوس[n], Adrianus ادريانوس[o], Antoninus انطونيانوس[p], Marcus Aurelius مرقوس اورليوس[q], Commodus قومذوس[r].

As I have now ſhewn, I hope ſatisfactorily, that *Sawâri* is not the Arabic word for *Severus*, and that Latin Proper Names, terminating in *Us*, retain the *S* final, when expreſſed in Arabic; I proceed further to remark, that the article *Il*, prefixed to *Sawâri*, in the paſſage of Abulfeda under conſideration, proves indiſputably that it is merely an Appellative; becauſe the article *Al*, or *Il*, is never prefixed to any *Proper Name whatever*.

Every one knows that the Koran is the ſtandard of Arabic: I ſhall therefore quote from it a ſmall but ſufficient number of paſſages, to confirm what I have mentioned as the univerſal rule of the language.

Michaelis ſuppoſes *Sawâri* to be a Proper Name; to be the ſecond of two Subſtantives; to be in the Genitive Caſe; and to have the article *Il* prefixed to it. The following examples (and a thouſand others might eaſily be added) prove, that the article *Il*, agreeably to the idiom of the language, is never uſed in any ſuch caſe:

[n] Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 119. [o] Ibid. p. 121. [p] Ibid. p. 121.
[q] Ibid. p. 124. [r] Ibid. p. 125.

and therefore that *Sawâri* here cannot poſſibly be a Proper Name. Sur. ii. ver. 87. edit. Maraccii, ابن مريم *filius Mariæ.* Ibid. ver. 131. ملة ابرهيم *religio Abrahami.* Sur. iii. ver. 58. مثل عيسي *ſimilitudo Jeſu.* Sur. vii. ver. 123. رب موسي وهرون *dominus Moſis et Aaronis.* Ibid. ver. 173. بني ادم *filii Adami.* Sur. ix. ver. 72. قوم نوح *populus Noachi.* Sur. xxvi. ver. 44. عزة فرعون *potentia Pharaonis.* Sur. xxviii. ver. 3. نبأ موسي *hiſtoria Moſis.* Ibid. ver. 7. ام موسى *Mater Moſis.* Sur. xxxiii. ver. 13. اهل يثرب *familia Yathrebi.* Sur. xli. ver. 13. صعاقة عاد *ſupplicium Adi.* Sur. l. ver. 11. قوم تبع *populus Tobbaï.* Sur. lxxxv. جنود فرعون *exercitus Pharaonis.* Ibid. ver. 18. صحف ابرهيم *codices Abrahami.*

It is unneceſſary to multiply examples on this ſubject from other Arabic writers; but it may perhaps be ſatisfactory to refer the reader to the following inſtances, which, amidſt many others of a ſimilar nature, occur in the very work of Abulfeda which Michaelis tranſlated. Pag 2. بني اسرايل *filii Iſraelis.* P. 3. ولاية قوص *præfectura Kuſi.* P. 9. قبر جالينوس *ſepulchrum Galeni.* P. 15. ايام فرعون *dies Pharaonis.* P. 18. بحر يوسف *Canalis Joſephi.* Ibid. ارض بهنسا *ditio Behenſæ.* P. 22. باب رشيد *porta Raſhidi* (*Roſettæ.*) P. 32. خلافة عمر *Chalifatus Omari.* P. 33. جامع عمرو *templum Amrui.* P. 34. مدينة فرعون *urbs Pharaonis.* &c. &c.

A complete anſwer has now, I think, been given to Michaelis, and thoſe who have adopted his opinion, by proving that *Amûd Iſſawâri* is not, and cannot be, *the Column of Severus*. I proceed therefore to inquire more particularly, what is the true meaning of the word.

I have already ſhewn that *Sawâri* is no Proper Name, but an Appellative.

The different meanings of this word in Arabic, as properly given by Golius, are four. سارية *Sâriyat*, plur. سواري *Sawâri*, (1) Columna. (2) Trabs. (3) Navis. (4) Nubes noctu oborta.

Leo Africanus, in his Hiſtory of Africa, written at the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the ſixteenth century, tranſlated *Amûd Iſſawâri*, "The Column of the "Trees[t]." Reiſke, in his verſion of this paſſage of

[t] ——— "diſcoſto da Aleſſandria forſe à ſei miglia verſo ponente ſi "truovano certi antichiſſimi edificj: fra quali è una Colonna groſſiſſima et "altiſſima: laquale nella lingua Arabica è detta *Hemaduſſaoar*, che tanto "vuol dire, quanto la Colonna de GLI ALBERI." Leo AFRIC. lib. xviii. cap. xvii.

N. B. *Forſe à ſei miglia* ſeems to be an error of the preſs. The accurate Greaves makes the diſtance of Pompey's Pillar from Alexandria much leſs than *one* mile. "Towards the ſouth ſide of Alexandria," ſays he, "ſtands the faireſt Pillar, which I ſuppoſe is in the world, *ſome half a mile*, "*or leſs*, out of the town." *Miſcellaneous Works of Mr.* JOHN GREAVES, vol. ii. p. 515.

Abulfeda, renders it, " The Column of the Beams." Now, though neither of theſe ſignifications is properly applicable to this place, yet the word is often uſed in both theſe acceptations. Thus, Luke vi. 41. in the Polyglott Arabic verſion—*perceiveſt not the beam in thine own eye* —the word for BEAM is *Sâriyat*, the ſing. of *Sawâri:* and Exodus xxxiv. 13. *ye ſhall cut down their groves*— the word for GROVES is the very plural *Sawâri* itſelf. Leo Africanus and Reiſke therefore are ſo far juſtified, as having deduced *Sawâri* from its proper root, and given it at leaſt a legitimate ſignification.

As the true ſenſe of *Amûd Iſſawâri* may be beſt collected from a paſſage in Abdollatif, (a moſt valuable author, whom I have lately given to the public in Arabic and Latin,) I ſhall exactly tranſcribe his words on this particular ſubject. They are found at page 110. 112. of the quarto edition.

ورايت بالاسكندرية عمود السواري وهو عمود احمر منقط من الحجر المانع الصوان عظيم الغلظ جدا شاهق الطول

ثم اني رايت بشاطي البحر مما يلي سور المدينة اكثر من اربع مـايـة عمود مكسرة انصافا واثلاثا حجرها مـن جنس حجر عمود السواري علي الثلث منه او الربع وزعم اهل الاسكندرية قاطبة انها كانـت منتصبة حول عمود السواري وان بعض ولاة الاسكـنـدرية واسمه قراجا كان واليا عن يوسف بن ايوب فراي هدم هذه

السواري وتكسيرها والقاها بشاطي البحر زعم ان ذلك يكسر سورة الموج عن سور المدينة او ان يمنع مراكب العدو تسند اليه وهذا من عبث الولدان ومن فعل من لا يفرق بين المصلحة والمفسدة

ورايت ايضا حول عمود السواري من هذه الاعمدة بقايا صالحة بعضها صحيح وبعضها مكسور ويظهر من حالها انها كانت مسقوفة والاعمدة تحمل السقف *** واري انه الرواق الذي كان يدرس فيه ارسطوطاليس وشيعته من بعده وانه دار العلم الذي بناه الاسكندر حين بني مدينته وفيها كانت خزانة الكتب التي حرقها عمرو بن العاص باذن عمر رضي الله عنه

" I ſaw at Alexandria the *Amûd Iſſawâri*. It is a " reddiſh, ſpotted Column, extremely thick and high, " &c. &c.

" I afterwards ſaw on the ſhore of the ſea, where it " approaches neareſt to the wall of the city, more than " four hundred Pillars, broken into two or three pieces. " Their material was the ſame kind of ſtone as that of the " *Amûd Iſſawâri*, and they were about a third or fourth " part of the ſize of that Column. The people of Alex- " andria univerſally affirm, that they ſtood near the " *Amûd Iſſawâri*; and that a Governor of Alexandria, " named Karaja, who governed there under Saladin, de- " termined to throw down theſe Pillars, break them in " pieces, and caſt them into the ſea; imagining that

" they would keep off the force of the waves from the " city-wall, or prevent the approach of an enemy. But " this was only the play of children, and the work of " one who could not diſtinguiſh between good and " evil.

" I ſaw alſo near the *Amûd Iſſawâri* conſiderable re- " mains of theſe Pillars, ſome whole, and ſome broken; " and it was evident from appearances, that they had " been covered with a roof, and that theſe Pillars ſup- " ported the roof. Here I underſtood was the portico, " where Ariſtotle gave lectures, and his diſciples after " him; it being the ſchool founded by Alexander, when " he built the city called after his name. Here alſo was " that Library, which Amru Ebn El Aas burnt, by the " command of the Khalif Omar."

Abdollatif here unequivocally determines the meaning of the word *Sawâri*; for he uſes it as preciſely ſynonimous with the common term اعمدة *a'midat*. Thus, " determined to throw down theſe Pillars, break them " in pieces, and caſt them into the ſea," is, in the original, ". determined to throw down theſe *Sawâri*, break " them in pieces, and caſt them into the ſea." *Sâriyat*, moreover, the ſingular of *Sawâri*, is uſed clearly in the ſame ſenſe, and cannot be otherwiſe underſtood, in that paſſage of Edriſi, which deſcribes the VERY BUILDING

near Pompey's Column, to which the Pillars belonged. I quote the original words, with the Latin tranſlation of Gabriel Sionita.—صفته هو مجلس مربع الطول في كل راس منه ست عشرة سارية وفي الجانبين سبعة وستون سارية المتطاولين—" Hæc eſt qualitas ipſius. Aula [ſeu, Palatium] " eſt quadratæ celſitudinis, et in utroque capite illius " ſunt COLUMNÆ[u] ſexdecim: in duobus autem lateribus " oblongioribus COLUMNÆ[u] ſexaginta ſeptem[x]."

I am happy to add, that the ſentiments of the late Profeſſor SCHULTENS exactly coincide with my own on the preceding ſubject, as far as the word *Sawâri* is concerned; though I had not the pleaſure to read his remarks till long after I had decidedly formed my opinion on this ſubject. I ſhall therefore extract his obſervations, as being likely to gratify thoſe readers into whoſe hands they may not hitherto have fallen, and as affording a full confirmation of my own aſſertions.

Bibliotheca Critica, Tom. i. Pars ſecunda, p. 21.

" Columnam Pompeii Alexandrinam quam Abulfeda " عامود السواري vocat, Michaelis vertit *Columnam Severi*, " eamque inani conjectura a Septimio Severo poſitam

[u] *Sâriyat* is put for the plural *Sawâri*, according to a well known rule of Grammar. " Numeri cardinales a *decem* ad *centum* regunt numeratum in Ac- " cuſativo *ſingulari*." Gramm. ERPENII, edit. Gol. p. 168.

[x] Geogr. Nubienſis, edit. Par. 1619. p. 96.

" arbitratur. (Not. 193.) Nimirum, manifeſto errore,
" confundit سواري cum سوارس vel سيوارس, quemadmo-
" dum *Severi* nomen ab ipſo Abulfeda ſcriptum depre-
" hendimus in parte iv. Operis Hiſtorici (p. 57. Codicis
" Warneriani). Fruſtra etiam Spartiani locum excitat
" ut hanc opinionem auctoritate aliqua confirmet; cum
" nihil aliud inde probetur, quam Severum Alexandriam
" adiiſſe, inque urbem beneficia quædam contuliſſe. Ita-
" que non erat, cur Michaelis tantopere exultaret, et
" videretur ſibi jam tandem aliquando de nobiliſſimo
" antiquitatis Monumento aliquid certi ſtatuere poſſe,
' idque adeo novum recentioribus et ignotum, ut Reiſ-
' kius, vir incredibili doctrina, ne intelligeret quidem
' Abulfedam, literaſque سـواري legens, non de Severo
' cogitaret, ſed Verſioni ſuæ hanc ſubjiceret notam.
' *Columna trabium. Neſcio cur ita dicta. Pompeii*
' *forte intelligitur.* Nempe ad radicem ســور (Gol.
' p. 1236.) nomen Severi Arabicis literis expreſſum re-
' vocabat.' " Enimvero huc ſi revocaſſet Reiſkius vocem
" سواري, profecto haud levius erraſſet, quam nunc erra-
" vit Michaelis, cum nunquam a سـور poſſit derivari
" سـواري, ſed hæc forma pluralis ſit, ſive collectiva, a
" ſing. سارية *trabs*, *columna*, quod a Themate سري deri-
" vatum, in Golio extat, p. 1170, quodque apud Scrip-
" tores Arabicos paſſim occurrit. Neque ſolum uſurpa-
" tur de *tignis*, *trabibus*, *columnis*, verum etiam de *opere*
" *columnato*, de *porticu* imprimis, longa columnarum

" ſerie magnificentius extructa. Et ſolent اسطوانة *porti-*
" *cus*, et سواري *columnarum ſtrues* invicem plerumque
" permutari. Itaque عامود السواري verti non debet
" *Columna trabium*, ſed *Columna porticûs*, ſive talis,
" quæ collocata erat in magnifica plurium Columnarum
" ſtructura : confer Pocock. tom. i. p. 8. ſed imprimis id
" patet ex Abu Serrouri Compendio deſcriptionis Æ-
" gypti, quod ex Maſudio, Macrizio, aliiſque excerpſit,
" et in quo Cap. vi. de *Amoud Iſſawari* ſeparatim egit.
" Hic igitur refert, *hanc Columnam collocatam fuiſſe*
" *prope alias Columnas fere quadringentas, quas Karagia*
" *præfectus Alexandriæ eo tempore, quo Saladinus Ægyp-*
" *tum teneret, deſtruxerit, et in maris littus projecerit,*
" *ut adventanti hoſti aditum præcluderet*[y]. Nil igitur re-

[y] The paſſage of Macriſi referred to at p. 94. ſtates preciſely the ſame fact, and is thus tranſlated by the learned De Sacy ; to whom Oriental literature is greatly indebted for various important publications. " Amud " Issawari. Cette colonne eſt d'une pierre rouge, et marquée de points " de différentes couleurs : c'eſt un granit dur. Il y avoit autrefois à l'entour " de ce monument 400 autres colonnes ; elles furent miſes en pièces par " Karadja, gouverneur d'Alexandrie, du temps du Sultan Salaheddin Youſ- " ſouf-ben-Ayyoub : il les fit briſer et jeter ſur le rivage de la mer, afin de " rendre difficile la marche de l'ennemi, lorſqu'il viendroit. *On dit* que " cette colonne faiſoit autrefois partie de celles qui contenoient le portique " d'Ariſtote, où il enſeignoit la philoſophie ; que ce lieu étoit un édifice " conſacré à l'inſtruction, et qu'il renfermoit une bibliothèque, que brûla " Amrou ben-Alas, par ordre d'Omar ben-Alkhattab." Magasin Encyclopedique, V. Année, tom. iv. p. 442.

N. B. *The Arabic original of this paſſage, which, as far as I know, has never yet been publiſhed, will be ſubjoined to this Part of the* Ægyptiaca, *from a Ms. in the Bodleian Library.*

" fert Abulfeda de conditore hujus Columnæ, quam " probabile eſt Veſpaſiano poſitam fuiſſe et dicatam, in " memoriam prodigii, quod ſanando claudo, Alexandriæ " feciſſe traditur: quam conjecturam ingenioſe adſtruxit " Nobilis vir Edvardus Wortlejus Montacutius cum aliis " argumentis tum nummo Veſpaſiani, quem in Columna " invenit, et cui inſcriptum AVT. KAIC. CEBA. OVECH. " In averſa parte conſpicitur victoria gradiens, dextra " ſpicas, ſiniſtra palmam geſtans. Vid. Comment. Phi- " loſoph. Regiæ Societ. Lond. vol. lviii. art. 42. Si " igitur locus in quo hæc Columna poſita erat, jam " antea *Aſſawari* diceretur, ab inſigni Columnarum " copia, patet ratio cur ea quæ recentiore ætate acce- " deret, nomen *Amoud Iſſawari* obtineret[z]."

On the whole, then, we have ſeen that *Sawári* cannot ſignify SEVERUS, becauſe the Arabic term for SEVERUS is never ſo written: and moreover that it cannot be any *Proper Name* at all, becauſe it has the Arabic article prefixed to it.

Leo Africanus, to whom the Arabic language was vernacular, and Reiſke, a man of conſummate Arabic

[z] On what grounds I think differently from the learned Profeſſor on the ſubject of Wortley Montagu's hypotheſis, I have fully ſhewn in the firſt Section.

erudition, both concur in conſidering it as an Appellative, though ignorant of its true meaning, as applied to the Alexandrian Column.

We have ſeen, that, amongſt the various ſenſes which *Sawâri* has, none is applicable on this occaſion but that of PILLARS: and this meaning the context of Abdollatif and Edriſi abſolutely requires, and indeed admits of no other.

We have ſeen alſo that not only Abulfeda has given the appellation of *Amûd Iſſawâri* to the Alexandrian Column, but that this appellation has been adopted by all the moſt reſpectable Arabic writers on the Antiquities of Egypt, and uniformly for the ſame reaſon, becauſe it was *the Column of the Pillars*, or one gigantic and magnificent Column, proudly towering over a numerous aſſemblage of Pillars of inferior magnitude and ſplendour.

APPENDIX.

N°. II.

CONCERNING THE

SITE OF THE SERAPEUM.

THE Greek and Latin authors alluded to at p. 66. are STRABO, MACROBIUS, and CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. I will lay the original passages before the Reader.

STRABO.

ΕΙΣΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἐσὶ συνεχῆ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Λοχιάδι, τὰ ἐνδοτέρω βασίλεια, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἔχοντα διαίτας ⟨c ἄλση· τούτοις δ' ὑπόκειται ὅ, τε κρυπτὸς λιμὴν καὶ κλειστὸς ἴδιος τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἡ Αντίῤῥοδος νησίον προκείμενον τοῦ ὁρυκτοῦ λιμένος, βασίλειον ἅμα καὶ λιμένιον ἔχον· ἐκάλεσαν δ' ὕτως, ὡς ἂν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐναμιλλον. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου τὸ Θέατρον· εἶτα τὸ Ποσείδιον, ἀγκὼν τὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐμπορίου καλουμένου προπεπτωκὼς, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος· ᾧ προσθεὶς χῶμα Αντώνιος ἔτι μᾶλλον προύνευον εἰς μέσον τὸν λιμένα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ κατεσκεύασε δίαιταν βασιλικὴν, ἣν Τιμώνιον προσηγόρευσε. Τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε τὸ τελευταῖον ἡνίκα προλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν

φίλων ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ κακοπραγίαν, Τιμώνιον αὐτῷ κρίνας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ὃν διάξειν ἔμελλεν ἔρημος τῶν τοσούτων φίλων. Εἶτα τὸ Καισάρειον, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποσάσεις· μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ Νεώρια, μέχρι τῆ Ἑπτασταδίῳ. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. Ἐξῆς δ' Εὐνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ Ἑπτασταδιον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὀρυκτὸς, ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς Νεώρια. Ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου Διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος· ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς Διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ περάσειον ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. ΕΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΡΥΓΟΣ ΤΟ, ΤΕ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα, ἐκλελειμμένα πως διὰ τὴν τῶν ναῶν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον, καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται, τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ ὠλιγώρηται. Edit. Amſtel. lib. xvii. cap. iv. p. 1145.

" When you have entered (the Great Port), on your " left hand are the inner Palaces, contiguous to thoſe on " the (promontory) Lochias, and they contain a great " variety of apartments and groves. Below theſe lies " the private and encloſed Harbour, which belongs to " the kings alone; and the little Iſle of Antirrhodus " lying before the artificial Port, which contains a pa- " lace and a ſmall port. It had this name, as being " intended to rival Rhodes. Beyond this is the Theatre;

" then the Neptunium, being a kind of elbow running
" out from that place which is called the Emporium,
" with the temple of Neptune, to which Antony hav-
" ing added a mole, projecting into the middle of
" the port, at the very extremity built a royal apart-
" ment, which he called Timonium. This laſt work he
" finiſhed when, having been deſerted by his friends, he
" came to Alexandria, after the defeat at Actium, hav-
" ing determined to ſpend the remainder of his life like
" Timon; being abandoned by ſo many friends. Then
" follows the Cæſarium, and the Emporium, and the
" Apoſtaſes; after which, the Docks, as far as the Hep-
" taſtadium. And theſe are what lie round the Great
" Port. Next to the Heptaſtadium is the port of Eunoſ-
" tus: and above it is a port made by digging, which they
" call Kibotus; this likewiſe has Dock-yards. Within
" this is a navigable Canal, extending as far as the lake
" Mareotis. Without the Canal there remains a ſmall
" part of the city. Next is Necropolis, and the ſuburb,
" in which are many gardens, and ſepulchres, and houſes
" fitted up for the purpoſe of embalming the dead.
" WITHIN THE CANAL ARE THE SERAPEUM, and other
" ancient temples, which are ſomewhat neglected on
" account of the temples built in Nicopolis: for there
" is an amphitheatre, and a ſtadium, and the quinquen-
" nial games are celebrated there; thus the old places
" are neglected."

If the Reader will caſt his eye on D'Anville's plan of ancient Alexandria, which I have cauſed to be exactly engraved from his *Mémoires ſur l'Egypte*, he will ſee, on the weſtern ſide, the port of Eunoſtus; and towards the ſouthern part of this, the ſmaller port of *Kibotus*. The Canal paſſing from the *Kibotus* to the lake Mareotis, and here ſpoken of by Strabo, appears to be placed by D'Anville with ſufficient accuracy, and is called by him FOSSA. The evidence of Strabo, as to the Site of the Serapeum, amounts diſtinctly to this, that the Serapeum lay WITHIN, or EAST OF THIS CANAL: but whether it were nearer to the ſouthern or northern point of it, he does not determine. This matter, however, ſeems fully aſcertained by a Latin writer, whoſe authority ranks high amongſt ſcholars.

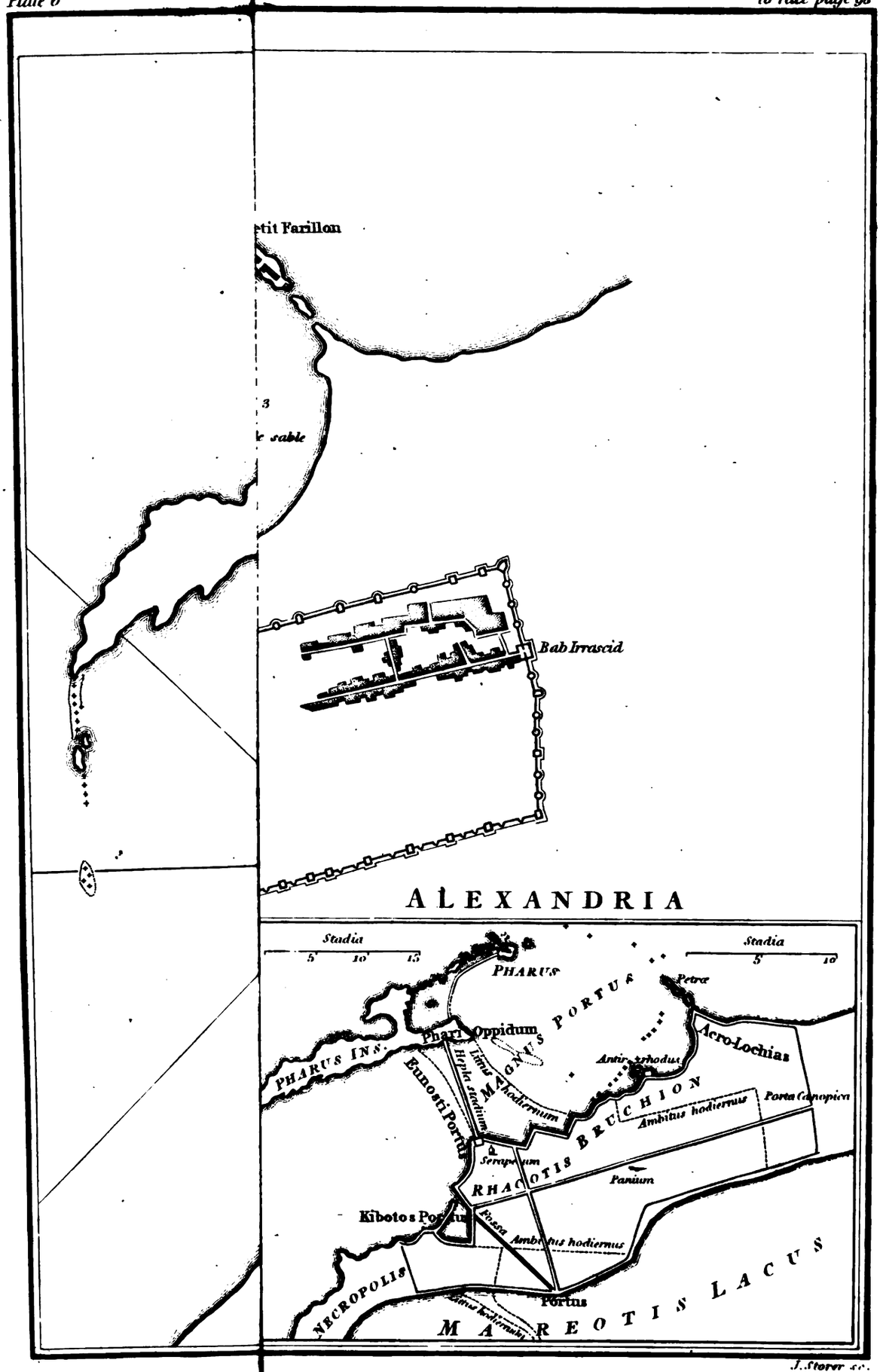
MACROBIUS.

"NULLUM ÆGYPTI OPPIDUM INTRA MUROS SUOS "AUT SATURNI AUT SERAPIS FANUM RECEPIT[a]."

This evidence of Macrobius clearly fixes the Site of the Serapeum near the ſouthern part of the Canal, and even beyond the walls of the city[b]. But the Greek

[a] MACROB. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. vii.

[b] "It is to be obſerved, that as he [Serapis] was a new god, ſo he "brought in with him among the Egyptians a new way of worſhip. For,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3
sable
Bab Irrascid
ALEXANDRIA
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5 10 15
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5 10
PHARUS
Petra
Pharl Oppidum
PHARUS INS.
PORTUS
Acro-Lochias
Antirrhodus
Hepta stadium
Limus Mediterrum
Eunostu Portus
BRUCHION
Ambitus hodiernus
Porta Canopica
Serapeum
RHACOTIS
Panium
Kibotos Portus
Ambitus hodiernus
NECROPOLIS
Portus
MAREOTIS LACUS

J. Storer sc.

author, whom I am next to quote, is more definite ſtill.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

—— ὃς [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] δεξάμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα [τῦ Σαραπιδος], καθίδρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ΑΚΡΑΣ, ἣν νῦν Ῥακῶτιν καλῦσιν· ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τετίμηται τῦ Σαραπιδος· γειτνιᾷ δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ χωρίον. Tom. i. p. 42. edit. Potter.

" —— who, [i. e. Ptolemy] upon receiving the Image " [of Sarapis], erected it on the PROMONTORY, which " they now call *Rhacotis*; where alſo was placed the " Temple of Sarapis; and in the vicinity are the lands " annexed to the Temple."

" till the time of the Ptolemies, the Egyptians never offered any bloody ſa- " crifices to their gods, but worſhipped them only with their prayers and " frankincenſe. But the tyranny of the Ptolemies having forced upon them " the worſhip of two foreign gods, that is, *Saturn* and *Serapis*, they in this " worſhip firſt brought in the uſe of bloody ſacrifices among that people. " However, they continued always ſo averſe hereto, that they would never " ſuffer any Temple to be built to either of thoſe gods *within any of the* " *walls of their cities:* but wherever they were in that country, they were " always built without them in their SUBURBS." PRIDEAUX's Connect. vol. ii. p. 11. edit. fol.

" In that place in the SUBURB Rhacotis, where the Image of Serapis, " which Ptolemy brought from Sinope, was ſet up, was afterwards built a " very famous Temple to that Idol, called the Serapeum, &c." Ibid. p. 12.

The hill, on which Pompey's Pillar ſtands, is ſtyled a PROMONTORY, by one of our earlieſt travellers. "Poſt-"ridie," ſays Bellonius, "urbe egreſſi prælaltam Pom-"peii Columnam ſpectatum ivimus, in exiguo quodam "PROMONTORIO ſitam &c." p. 4. And again at p. 5. concerning the ſame eminence—"Ex ſummo hoc PRO-"MONTORIO longus in mare et continentem patet con-"ſpectus."

I avow, therefore, that the Ἄκρα or Promontory, ſpoken of by Clemens Alexandrinus, appears to me to be the very eminence on which Pompey's Pillar ſtands; and I conceive that the Temple of Serapis was chiefly built ON AN ARTIFICIAL HEIGHT, JOINED TO THIS NATURAL EMINENCE, AND RAISED PRECISELY TO THE SAME LEVEL.

Ruffinus informs us, that the aſcent to the platform of the Temple was by a flight of at leaſt a hundred ſteps[c]. And the height of the hill, on which Pompey's Pillar ſtands, is ſtated by Abdollatif to be twenty-three cubits and a half[d]; and by Maillet to be about twenty-

[c] "Locus eſt non natura, ſed manu et conſtructione per centum, aut eo "amplius gradus, in ſublime ſuſpenſus." See p. 36.

[d] "Legi in autographo cujuſdam peregrinatoris, ipſum menſuraſſe τὸν "*Amud* [*Iſſawari*] una cum ejus baſi et capitello, fuiſſeque ſexaginta duo-

five or thirty yards[e]. Now, I think, theſe meaſurements approximate ſo nearly to thoſe of the Roman writer, as fully to juſtify my hypotheſis. Hence alſo we are enabled to reconcile the apparently different accounts of Ruffinus and Sozomen; of whom, the one ſays, that the Temple was built on an artificial eminence[f]; and the other ſeems to repreſent it as erected on a natural hill[g]. The fact moſt probably was, that the *artificial* height was ſo well connected with the *natural*, as not to be diſtinguiſhable by vulgar ſpectators.

I ſhall now quote a paſſage from Strabo, which has been ſuppoſed to be connected with the Site of the Serapeum, and has given birth to that erroneous poſition of the Temple, which we find in the plans of Bonamy and D'Anville.

Ὁ γοῦν μέγας λιμὴν πρὸς τῷ κεκλεῖσθαι καλῶς τῷ τε χώ-

" rum cubitorum, cum ſexta cubiti parte; ſitum vero in Colle, cujus alti-
" tudo eſſet viginti trium cubitorum, cum dimidia cubiti parte." ABDOLL. edit. 4to. p. 115.

[e] " [La Colonne eſt] élevée ſur un tertre naturel de pierre ſolide eſcarpé
" de toutes parts, et de la hauteur de vingt cinq à trente coudées. MAILLET, tom. i. p. 48.

[f] See note (c).

[g] —ἐπὶ γεωλόφῳ κείμενος. See p. 36.

ματι, καὶ τῇ φύσει, ἀγχιβαθής τέ ἐστιν, ὥστε τὴν μεγίστην ναῦν ἐπὶ κλίμακος ὁρμεῖν· καὶ εἰς πλείους δὲ σχίζεται λιμένας.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρότεροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον, καὶ ὀ πάνυ ἐπεισάκτων δεόμενοι, διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πλέοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας (πορθηταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατὰ σπάνιν γῆς) ἐπέστησαν φυλακὴν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, κελεύσαντες ἀπείργειν τοὺς προσιόντας· καλοικίαν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἔστι μέρος τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῶν νεωρίων· τότε δὲ κώμη ὑπῆρχε. Τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης Βουκόλοις παρέδοσαν, δυναμένοις καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας. STRABO, p. 1141.

"The Great Port, in addition to its being well enclosed, both by means of a mound and by nature, has such a depth of water close to the shore, that the largest vessel can be moored to the quays; and it is divided into several small ports.

"The former kings of Egypt, being contented with what they enjoyed, and not much wanting the produce of foreign countries, had a great aversion to all navigators, especially the Greeks: (for they were free-booters, and, from the scantiness of their own territory, were greedy to seize on land abroad:) they

" therefore eſtabliſhed a garriſon in this part, with " orders to repel all who offered to approach; at the " ſame time giving them for a ſettlement [the Village] " called Rhacotis, which now indeed is become a part " of the city of the Alexandrians, ſituated above the " Docks: though it was then a [ſolitary] Village. The " parts round about this Village they granted to Herdſ- " men; who likewiſe formed a body ſtrong enough to " check the inroads of any invaders."

The point at iſſue is briefly this. Does *Rhacotis* in this paſſage of Strabo mean the ſame as *Rhacotis* in the following paſſage of Tacitus? " Templum pro magnitu- " dine urbis exſtructum, loco cui nomen *Rhacotis*: fue- " rat illic Sacellum Serapidi atque Iſidi antiquitus ſacra- " tum [h]."

Bonamy, a learned member of the French Academy[i], and D'Anville, who implicitly follows him, ſeem both to conſider the *Rhacotis of Strabo* as a clue, which leads directly and certainly to the *Serapeum-Rhacotis*. As I cannot, however, poſſibly concur in this opinion, I ſhall without ceremony ſtate my objections to it.

I readily allow that the village *Rhacotis*, which ex-

[h] TACITUS, tom. iii. p. 287. edit. Brot.

[i] Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. ix. p. 426.

iſted before the time of Alexander, was ſituated in that part where D'Anville places it; for ſuch I conceive to be the plain ſenſe of Strabo's words. He ſays, it was ὑπερκείμενον τῶν Νεωρίων, *lying* [juſt] *above the Docks:* and where the Docks are ſituated, he very clearly defines at p. 1142; when, having in his deſcription of Alexandria, travelled round the Great Port from the promontory of Lochias as far as the Heptaſtadium, and marked with great exactneſs all the principal objects in his route, he places the DOCKS immediately to the eaſt of the Heptaſtadium: Εἶτα τὸ Καισάριον, καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποθήκαι· μετὰ ταῦτα ΤΑ ΝΕΩΡΙΑ, μέχρι τοῦ Ἑπταστάδιου. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα.

But though I allow that the *Rhacotis of Strabo* was ſituated near the DOCKS of the Great Port, and that the Site of it was probably encloſed within the walls of the New City by Dinocrates; yet no evidence whatever has been produced, that the term *Rhacotis* was retained by this architect, as expreſſing a diſtinct *quarter*, or *diſtrict*, of the city.

Strabo's words—Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἔστι μέρος—"*Rhacotis*, which is now become a part of "the city of the Alexandrians—" imply, to my apprehenſion, that it was totally abſorbed in it, and had loſt both its figure and its name. That Strabo ſhould men-

tion the *particular* Site of this *Rhacotis*, is what might be expected from ſo accurate a topographer; and it was a notice proper to be preſerved: but that Dinocrates ſhould give the appellation of the Old Egyptian Village to a principal quarter of the New City, when Alexander was ambitious of having the whole honour attributed to himſelf, is wholly inconceivable.

The ruins of Memphis were, we preſume, the quarry, from whence materials were brought to build and ornament Alexandria: but though theſe materials were, probably, moſt of them covered with hieroglyphics, yet the Greeks appear to have effaced the Egyptian characters from the marble, before they applied it to the uſes of architecture in their New City[k]. I conclude,

[k] "Nous ne devons proprement regarder les ruines de Memphis que "comme une carrière brutte, d'où on tiroit les pierres pour les tailler d'une "manière convenable. Il eût même été impoſſible de raſſembler toutes "les pièces de façon, qu'elles puſſent ſervir à des édifices, pareils à ceux, "où elles avoient été employées. Dès qu'on ſuppoſe, que ces édifices "étoient en ruine, on n'y doit rien chercher d'entier; et il y auroit eu la "même impoſſibilité à rétablir ce qui y manquoit. Des raiſons d'ambition "et de jalouſie s'y oppoſoient; et on ne ſçauroit ignorer l'empêchement, "qu'une cauſe naturelle y apportoit, puiſque, du tems d'Alexandre, on "étoit déjà auſſi ignorant dans l'intelligence des Hiéroglyphes, que nous le "ſommes préſentement.

"Je pourrois m'étendre davantage ſur cette matière; mais je me con-"tente ſimplement de remarquer, que les morceaux de marbre couverts "d'Hiéroglyphes, qui ſe trouvent au fondement de la Colonne de Pompée,

therefore, that when Alexandria was firſt built, and when that name became the general appellation amongſt the Greeks, thoſe conquerors totally forbore all uſe of the term *Rhacotis*.

The *Serapeum-Rhacotis* ſeems then to be quite a different thing from the *Rhacotis of Strabo*. And, indeed, this might well be inferred from the very paſſages themſelves of Tacitus and Clemens above quoted. For, the former of theſe writers deſcribes the *Serapeum-Rhacotis*, not as the ſite of the ſmall Egyptian town, which preceded the building of Alexandria, but as the ſite of a Chapel formerly dedicated to Serapis and Iſis: and the latter ſays, that the place was THEN[1], i. e. IN THE SECOND CENTURY, called *Rhacotis*; moſt clearly intimating, that this was not its ANCIENT appellation.

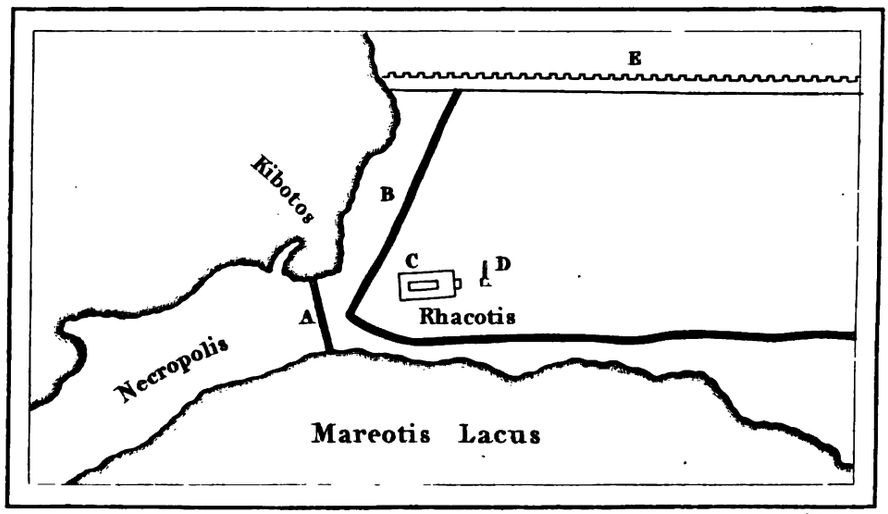
But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is the poſitive teſtimony of Cyril of Alexandria; whoſe opportunities of information entitle him to the higheſt authority on this queſtion. He had long lived at Alexan-

" prouvent, qu'on en a effectivement apporté; et qu'on n'a pas voulu s'en " ſervir, ſans les changer, ſi ce n'eſt quand on les mettoit dans des endroits, " où on les croyoit pour toujours cachés aux yeux des hommes." NORDEN, tom. i. p. 22.

[1] —καθίδρυσεν ἐνὶ ἄκρας, ἣν ΝΥΝ Ῥακῶτιν καλοῦσιν·

to face page 100

Serapei Situs, ex mente Iosephi White



A . . Fossa a kiboto ad lacum Mareotim perducta

B . . . Canalis Alexandrinus, vulgo the khalij of Cleopatra

C . . . . Serapeum

D . . . Columna vulgo dicta Pompeii

E . . . Murus urbis hodiernus

dria, with his uncle Theophilus, the patriarch of that city; and after his death, Cyril himſelf filled the ſame chair for upwards of thirty years. At the general council of Epheſus, where two hundred and ſeventy biſhops were aſſembled, to repreſs the errors of Neſtorius, Cyril was called upon to preſide; which ſhews at once the dignity of his rank, and the eminence of his character. His works, publiſhed at Paris in 1639, in ſix volumes fol. exhibit irrefragable proofs, that he poſſeſſed an active, inquiſitive mind, amply ſtored with ſolid erudition. His obſervations on *Serapis* and the *Serapeum* are theſe.—

Ἑκατοστῇ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύοντος τῷ ἐπίκλην Φιλαδέλφῳ, τὸν Σάραπιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φασὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Σινώπης· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ εἶναι τῷ Πλούτωνι, ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν ἐκτίζετο τῷ ἀγάλματι· ὃ κῆ τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ φωνῇ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι ΡΑΚΩΤΙΝ· ΟΤΔΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ Η ΤΟΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΣΙ[m], ταύτῃ τοι κῆ τοῖς μυήμασι γείτονα τὸν νεὼν ἐποιήσαντο. CYRILLI, Alexandriæ Patriarchæ, Opera, tom. vi. contra Julianum, p. 13.

"In the 124th Olympiad, whilſt Ptolemy, ſurnamed "Philadelphus, reigned in Egypt[n], we are told that the

[m] The Reader cannot fail to obſerve, how much light this paſſage and that of Plutarch quoted at p. 54. reflect on each other.

[n] i. e. Whilſt he was partner of the throne with his father, and indeed not long before the death of Soter. See PRIDEAUX's Connect. b. i. p. 9.

" Image of Sarapis in Alexandria was brought from Si-
" nope; and that he is the ſame with Pluto, on which
" account a Temple was built for the Idol: to which
" [Idol] the Egyptians, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE
" COUNTRY, give the name of RHACOTIS. By this
" they mean nothing more than PLUTO: and therefore
" they built the Temple in the neighbourhood of the
" BURYING-PLACES."

It ſeems then, that, owing to ſome cauſe or other, the whole buſineſs, concerning the Site of the *Serapeum*, has been hitherto ſtrangely perplexed and mis-ſtated. To D'Anville, however, no blame is imputable. He had at that time no better guide to follow than Bonamy, being himſelf totally ignorant of the Greek language: and Bonamy, having never ſeen (as far as it appears) the paſſages we have quoted from Clemens and Cyril, might well be bewildered by the meteor of *Strabo's Rhacotis*. It ought further to be added in his excuſe, that he conſidered the whole ſubject, I mean the topography of ancient Alexandria, as a matter in itſelf not very intereſting to the public[o]. As ſome of my readers may poſſibly

[o] " ——Cette diſcuſſion ne paroît pas fort intéreſſante, il eſt vray; auſſi
" n'eſt-ce point le but principal que je me ſuis propoſé en travaillant à la
" deſcription d'Alexandrie. Ceux qui ont lû avec un peu d'attention ce
" que Hirtius, Dion, et d'autres auteurs diſent de la guerre que Jules-Céſar,
" enfermé dans le quartier des Palais d'Alexandrie, eut à ſoûtenir contre les
" Egyptiens, ont dû ſentir qu'il n'eſtoit preſque pas poſſible d'entendre

entertain the ſame opinion, I ſhall only treſpaſs on their patience by adding a few words on the important evidence of Cyril.

It appears then, 1ſt. that *Rhacotis* and *Serapis* ſignify in the ancient Coptic one and the ſame thing, THE EGYPTIAN PLUTO; and that the *Name* of this deity was given to the *Diſtrict*, where his temple was ſituated, is highly probable. The Building itſelf ſeems to have been called *Serapeum*, and the Spot where it ſtood, *Rhacotis*.

2dly. Cyril not only furniſhes us with new light as to the *meaning* of the word, but alſo with a new *geographical poſition*, fully confirming thoſe we have already produced. For whilſt Strabo tells us, that the Serapeum was ſituated within the Canal going from the port of Eunoſtus to the lake Mareotis; and Clemens, that it was connected with a Promontory (which we ſuppoſe to be that very eminence, on which Pompey's Pillar ſtands); Cyril expreſsly informs us, that it lay not far from NECROPOLIS: for no other meaning, I think, can be aſſigned to ΤΟΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΑΣΙ ΓΕΙΤΟΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΟ[P]:

" ces auteurs, ſans avoir préſente à l'imagination une deſcription des lieux " dont ils parlent, et principalement des Ports de cette Ville ſi renommée, " la ſeconde de l'Empire Romain." BONAMY, Hiſtoire de l'Académie, tom. ix. p. 416.

P That the Serapeum and Necropolis were not far aſunder, we learn from

and if the Reader will caſt his eye on the exact copy I preſent to him of D'Anville's two plans of Alexandria, he will ſee at once the miſtake of that eminent geographer, and the ſtriking coincidence of thoſe *poſitions*, which are aſſigned to the Serapeum by Greek and Roman writers.

the expreſs teſtimony of Strabo. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. Ἐξῆς δ' Εὐνόστε λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ Ἑπταστάδιον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τέτε ὀρυκτὸς, ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλέσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. Ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τέτε διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος· ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ προάστειον ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ, καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδειαι. Ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό, τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα.... Lib. xvii. cap. iv. p. 1145. edit. Amſtel.

APPENDIX.

N°. III.

FURTHER PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE PILLAR.

THE PIVOT.

AS the teſtimony of Mr. Montagu concerning the Pivot may poſſibly be queſtioned, I here add other authorities in proof of the general fact, that the weight of the Pillar reſts wholly, or chiefly, on a ſingle ſtone, much ſmaller than the Pedeſtal.

SANDYS.

" [Pompey's Pillar] is ſet upon a ſquare cube (and " which is to be wondered at) not half ſo large as the " foot of the Pillar." Edit. fol. 1621, p. 114.

MR. JOHN GREAVES[a].

" The Stylobata [of Pompey's Pillar] is the greateſt " and faireſt that I have ſeen; the breadth of which is " ſome four feet." Pyramidographia, vol. ii. p. 515.

[a] Mr. Greaves travelled in Egypt in 1638 and 1639.

Dr. GEMELLI CARRERI.

" Monday [1693] I went with a Janizary, aſſigned " me by the Conſul, out of the city, to ſee Pompey's " Pillar; it ſtands on a high ground, which the ſea leaves " between north and ſouth. It is all of one entire " piece of red marble, except the capital, pedeſtal, and " BASE, on which there are certain Egyptian hieroglyphics carved[b]." CHURCHILL's Travels and Voyages, vol. iv. p. 9.

VAN EGMONT AND HEYMAN.

" [Pompey's Pillar] is placed on a foundation five " feet ſquare, and every ſide of it decorated with hiero- " glyphics; but it muſt be obſerved, that theſe figures " are inverted." Eng. tranſl. vol. ii. p. 137.

PAUL LUCAS[c].

" Tout ce grand poids [de la Colonne de Pompée] " eſt planté et ſupporté par un Pivot de cinq pieds en " carré: ce Pivot eſt environné de pierres qu'on pour-

[b] " Some will have this Pillar to be four times as big as that of the Ro- " tonda at Rome; and the Conſul, who is a very ingenious man, told me, " that a French engineer had offered his King to take it down, and land it " ſafe in France without breaking, but that the Grand Seignior would not " conſent to it." Ibid. ſee Preface, p. vii.

[c] Lucas viſited Egypt in 1719.

" roit aiſément ôter ſans que la Colonne courût aucun " danger de tomber." Tom. ii. p. 22.

DR. SHAW.

" A great part of the foundation [of Pompey's Pillar], " which is made up of ſeveral different pieces of ſtone, " or marble, hath been removed, in expectation, as may " be ſuppoſed, of finding a treaſure. At preſent, there- " fore, the whole fabric ſeems to reſt entirely upon a " block of white marble, ſcarce two yards ſquare, which, " upon being touched with a key, gives a ſound like a " bell." SHAW's Travels, p. 339.

BP. POCOCKE.

" —It is indeed probable that the main weight of " the Pillar does reſt on this [Pivot], which on that ſide " [the weſt ſouth-weſt] is about four feet wide, and ap- " peared to me to be a mixture of alabaſter and flints " of a great variety of colours, and has hieroglyphics on " it." Travels, vol. i. p. 8.

Extract of a Letter from JOHN SKIPPE, Eſq. *to the Rev. Dr. White.*

OVERBURY, *Sept.* 25, 1785.

" —— I am glad with regard to the Pivot, that I " *may now ſafely believe my own eyes:* having been " often poſitively contradicted, I began almoſt to doubt

" the fact; for I had never ſeen either of thoſe au-
" thors you quote. Norden ſeems to treat both Lucas
" and Maillet with contempt, for advancing ſuch an
" opinion [d]; but probably he never examined the cir-

[d] *The following is the paſſage alluded to.*

" With regard to the foundation, on which the Pedeſtal and the Column
" reſt, it is open on one ſide. An Arab, it is ſaid, having dug under this
" foundation, placed there a box of gunpowder, in order to blow up the
" Column, and to make himſelf maſter of the treaſures, which he imagined
" to be buried underneath. Unhappily for him, he was not a good miner.
" His enterpriſe miſcarried. The mine blew up, and diſranged only four
" ſtones, which made part of the foundation, of which the three other ſides
" remained entire. The only good, which reſulted from it, was, that the
" curious were afterwards able to ſee what ſtones had been employed in this
" foundation. I have obſerved there a piece of white oriental marble,
" quite full of hieroglyphics, ſo well preſerved, that it has been eaſy for me
" to draw them exactly. [See Plate iii.] Another large piece, which is
" removed from its place, and which, notwithſtanding, lies bare, is of Sici-
" lian marble, yellowiſh and ſpotted with red; it has equally its hieroglyphics, but ſo damaged, that I have not been able to draw any thing from
" it. A piece of a little Column had likewiſe ſerved for this foundation,
" as well as ſome other pieces of marble, that have nothing remarkable.

" I have already ſaid, that the damage has been only on one ſide. That
" which has been taken away of the foundation leaves at moſt a void of
" three feet, underneath the pedeſtal; and the middle, as well as the three
" other ſides, continue in their original ſolidity. Paul Lucas, however,
" who has not been content with giving us a drawing that is not exact of
" this Column, repreſents it to us as reſting only upon a ſingle ſtone in the
" middle. In the main one may paſs over this fault, as well as ſo many
" others: but that a Conſul General, [Monſ. de Maillet] who had reſided
" ſixteen years at Cairo, who pretends to have ſeen better than any other
" traveller, and who had been long enough at Alexandria, to be able to
" examine this Column, ſhould have contented himſelf with copying the

" cumſtance with that attention which the others had " done: I can only ſay, that it was too evident to be " miſtaken, when I ſaw it. I was ſo ſtruck with it, that " I made a drawing of the Baſe of the Column, exhibit- " ing the excavation underneath, and the ſtone upon " which it poiſes, &c. &c."

THE CAPITAL.

" Il y a quelque tems qu'un danſeur de corde, Arabe " de nation, entreprit de monter ſur cette Colomne, et " en vint à bout. Il attacha une ficelle à une flèche, " qu'il eut l'adreſſe de faire paſſer dans les jours de la " corniche, dont le chapiteau eſt accompagné. Enſuite " par le moyen de la ficelle il y éleva une corde, à la " faveur de laquelle il monta réellement ſur le haut de " la Colomne, portant un ânon ſur ſes épaules. Cela " ſe paſſa à la vue de tout le peuple d'Alexandrie, qui " étoit accouru pour jouir de cette nouveauté: c'eſt de

" drawing that he found in Paul Lucas, is a matter inconceivable. Per- " haps he had reaſons of policy for acting in this manner. He formed the " project of tranſporting this Column to France; and repreſenting it as " reſting only upon a ſingle ſtone, it appeared ſo much the more eaſy to " remove, and to put on board a veſſel." Eng. Tranſl. of NORDEN, edit. fol. p. 10.

" cet Arabe que l'on a ſçu, que le chapiteau etoit " creuſé conſidérablement." MAILLET, tom. i. p. 147.

Account of a ludicrous adventure of ſome Engliſh Captains in 1733, *by* EYLES IRWIN, *Eſq.*

" Theſe jolly ſons of Neptune had been puſhing " about the can on board one of the ſhips in the har- " bour, until a ſtrange freak entered into one of their " brains. The eccentricity of the thought occaſioned " it immediately to be adopted; and its apparent im- " poſſibility was but a ſpur for the putting it into execu- " tion. The boat was ordered, and, with proper im- " plements for the attempt, theſe enterpriſing heroes " puſhed aſhore, to drink a bowl of punch on the top " of Pompey's Pillar. At the ſpot they arrived, and " many contrivances were propoſed to accompliſh the " deſired point. But their labour was vain; and they " began to deſpair of ſucceſs, when the genius, who had " ſtruck out the frolic, happily ſuggeſted the means of " performing it. A man was diſpatched to the city for a " paper kite. The inhabitants were by this time ap- " priſed of what was going forward, and flocked in " crowds to be witneſſes of the addreſs and boldneſs of " the Engliſh. The governor of Alexandria was told " that theſe ſeamen were about to pull down Pompey's " Pillar: but, whether he gave them credit for their

" reſpect to the Roman warrior, or to the Turkiſh
" government, he left them to themſelves, and politely
" anſwered, that the Engliſh were too great patriots to
" injure the remains of Pompey. He knew little, how-
" ever, of the diſpoſition of the people who were en-
" gaged in this undertaking. Had the Turkiſh empire
" roſe in oppoſition, it would not, perhaps, at that mo-
" ment, have deterred them. The kite was brought,
" and flown ſo directly over the Pillar, that, when it fell
" on the other ſide, the ſtring lodged upon the capital.
" The chief obſtacle was now overcome. A two-inch
" rope was tied to one end of the ſtring, and drawn
" over the Pillar by the end to which the kite was af-
" fixed. By this rope one of the ſeamen aſcended to the
" top, and in leſs than an hour a kind of ſhroud was con-
" ſtructed, by which the whole company went up, and
" drank their punch amid the ſhouts of the aſtoniſhed
" multitude. To the eye below, the capital of the Pillar
" does not appear capable of holding more than one
" man upon it; but our ſeamen found it could contain
" no leſs than eight perſons very conveniently. It is
" aſtoniſhing, that no accident befel theſe madcaps in
" a ſituation ſo elevated, that would have turned a land-
" man giddy in his ſober ſenſes. The only detriment,
" which the Pillar received, was the loſs of one of the
" volutes, which came down with a thundering ſound,
" and was carried to England by one of the captains, as a

" preſent to a lady, who commiſſioned him for a piece of " the Pillar. The diſcovery, which they made, amply com- " penſated for this miſchief; as, without their evidence, " the world would not have known, at this hour, that " there was originally a ſtatue on this Pillar, one foot " and ancle of which are ſtill remaining. The ſtatue " was probably of Pompey himſelf, and muſt have been " of a gigantic ſize, to have appeared of a man's pro- " portion, at ſo great an height.

" There are circumſtances in this narrative, which " might give it an air of fiction, were it not demon- " ſtrated beyond all doubt. Beſides the teſtimonies of " many eye-witneſſes, the adventurers themſelves have " left us a token of the fact by the initials of their " names, which are very legible in black paint juſt be- " neath the capital." IRWIN's Voyage up the Red Sea, p. 370.

THE COLUMN.

The following Mémoire, drawn up by the French Savans, who lately viſited Egypt, has excited ſome curioſity.

RAPPORT

SUR LA COLONNE DE POMPÉE,

Lu à l'inſtitut, par le Citoyen NORRY, *le 6 Vendémiaire an 7.*

" LE petit nombre de meſures données juſqu'ici de la " Colonne de Pompée, et indiquées ſouvent de la ma- " niere la plus incertaine par les différents auteurs qui " en ont parlé, nous a déterminés, avant de quitter " Alexandrie, les citoyens Dutertre, Protin, Lepere, et " moi, d'en recueillir toutes les proportions. Le com- " mandant du port, le citoyen Dumanoir, que nous " avions engagé de nous en faciliter les moyens en nous " faiſant préparer à ſon bord quelques moufles et quel- " ques cordages, s'eſt empreſſé de ſeconder nos vues. " Le 14 Fructidor, à cinq heures du matin, nous nous " rendîmes à ce monument avec une eſcorte. Nous " commençâmes notre opération par élever un cerf- " volant [e] d'environ quatre pieds de haut, à l'attache

[e] Ce moyen avoit été employé quelques années avant.

" duquel pendoit une ſeconde corde d'une longueur in-
" définie, qui fut ſaiſie par l'un de nous lorſque le cerf-
" volant fut paſſé au-deſſus et au-delà du chapiteau ; de
" maniere qu'en tirant cette corde le cerf-volant deſcen-
" dit à terre, et fut enſuite ſéparé : nous eûmes une
" corde paſſée par-deſſus le chapiteau de la Colonne,
" comme par-deſſus la circonférence d'une poulie. Cette
" premiere opération faite, on attacha à l'une des extré-
" mités de cette corde une ſeconde corde, plus forte,
" qu'on ſubſtitua à la premiere, et à celle-ci une troi-
" ſieme, capable de porter plus que le poids d'un
" homme. Un matelot fut enlevé ſur le chapiteau. Son
" premier ſoin fut de jeter en bas un drapeau en fer
" battu placé en cet endroit, en 1789, par Fauvel, ar-
" tiſte Français : ſur ce pavillon étoit indiquée la hau-
" teur totale du monument, de 88 pieds 9 pouces.
" Lorſque le matelot eut attaché fortement les cordages
" autour des volutes d'angles, et placé avec ſoin un
" mouſle, je m'aſſis ſur un petit banc ſuſpendu à la
" corde, et fus hiſſé auſſitôt. Le citoyen Protin y monta
" enſuite, et nous meſurâmes enſemble toutes les parties
" du chapiteau. Pendant ce temps, les citoyens Lepere
" et Dutertre prirent toutes les meſures de la baſe et du
" piédeſtal. Nous prîmes enſuite une hauteur totale,
" qui, à 8 centimetres (3 pouces) près, répondoit à celle
" de Fauvel : elle ſe trouva de 28 metres 73 centime-
" tres (88 pieds 6 pouces). Il ne reſtoit plus qu'à me-

" ſurer les diametres de la Colonne à diverſes hauteurs.
" Pour y parvenir, nous avions diſpoſé une équerre d'en-
" viron 5 pieds de branches, avec une fleche mobile
" dans un couliſſeau, partageant l'angle en deux, et pou-
" vant à volonté s'avancer ou reculer pour toucher la
" circonférence à chaque ſtation, où l'on embraſſoit
" horizontalement avec l'équerre le fût de la Colonne ;
" au moyen de quoi, en conſidérant les hypothénuſes
" de chacun des triangles que déterminoient les lon-
" gueurs de la fleche comme côtés d'octogones, nous
" trouvions les divers cercles inſcrits à ces octogones,
" et par conſéquent les diametres. Pour opérer avec
" préciſion, celui qui ſe ſervoit de l'équerre aux diverſes
" ſtations du fût préſentoit le niveau ſur cette équerre,
" qu'on lui aidoit à placer horizontalement, en baiſſant
" ou levant à volonté, du deſſus de la Colonne, les ex-
" trémités des deux branches, où ſe trouvoient fixées
" deux cordes : par ces divers procédés, nous avons
" opéré avec la plus grande exactitude. Beaucoup de
" membres de la commiſſion des arts ont été témoins
" de notre travail, et la plupart ſont montés enſuite ſur
" cet énorme chapiteau, ſur lequel nous nous ſommes
" trouvés juſqu'à ſix ou ſept enſemble.

" Il me reſte un mot à ajouter ſur la diſpoſition, la
" diviſion, les principales dimenſions, la nature de la
" matiere, les proportions et l'âge de ce monument.

" Il eſt diſpoſé ſur une légere éminence, et placé ſur " un ſoubaſſement que les barbares ont dégradé; un " noyau de 1 metre 28 centimetres (4 pieds 6 pouces) " carrés lui ſert de ſeul ſupport. Ce noyau eſt formé " d'un fragment de monument Egyptien, qui paroît être " de la nature du ſilex, et qui lui-même a été apporté " en ce lieu, puiſque les caracteres hiéroglyphiques en " ſont renverſés. En examinant attentivement cette " dégradation commiſe ſous le piédeſtal, on découvre " que le taſſement, réparti inégalement, a fait pencher " la Colonne de 21 centimetres (8 pouces); et c'eſt " ſans doute à ce taſſement qu'eſt due une profonde " crevaſſe d'environ 4 metres 87 centimetres (15 pieds) " de longueur dans la partie inférieure du fût.

" Ce monument préſente un ordre Corinthien, et eſt " diviſé en quatre parties, piédeſtal, baſe, fût, et chapi- " teau; un cercle de 2 m. 2 centim. (6 pieds 3 pouces) " de diametre, et déprimé de 6 centimetres (2 pouces), " feroit croire qu'il y a eu autrefois un ſocle deſſus, por- " tant peut-être la figure du héros, à qui on avoit " élevé cette Colonne; mais ceci n'eſt qu'une conjec- " ture.

" Le piédeſtal a de hauteur 3 m. 24 c. (10 pieds); " la baſe, 1 m. 78 c. (5 pieds 6 p. 3 lig.); le fût, 20 m. " 48 c. (63 pieds 1 p. 3 lig.); le chapiteau, 3 m. 21 c.

" (9 pieds 10 p. 6 lig.) ; le diametre de la Colonne eſt
" de 2 m. 70 c. (8 pieds 4 p.) dans ſa partie infé-
" rieure, et de 2 m. 49 c. (7 pieds 2 p. 8 lig.) près de
" l'aſtragale : la hauteur totale, ainſi que je l'ai dit plus
" haut, eſt de 28 m. 73 c. (88 pieds 6 pouces.)

" Toutes les parties du monument ſont en granit Thé-
" baïque, &c. &c."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 38.

IF any one will conſider with attention the paſſage of Philo here quoted, he will, I think, readily allow, that no ſituation could have been ſo proper for the Sebaſtium, as the ſpot which D'Anville has erroneouſly aſſigned to the Serapeum. And it ought further to be noted, that, as Strabo does not mention any building as occupying THAT VERY SITE, when he viſited Alexandria[a], it ſeems to have been the only ſpot left open, which could have been applied to this purpoſe; and its proximity to the harbour[b] muſt have afforded a ſingular advantage to a naval ſtructure of ſuch uncommon magnificence.

[a] —— Εἶτα τὸ Καισάριον καὶ τὸ Ἐμπορεῖον, καὶ Ἀποθήκας· μετὰ ταῦτα ΤΑ ΝΕΩΡΙΑ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΤΑΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα. STRABO, p. 1145.

[b] — ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμάτων λιμένων.

PAGE 52.

" Un lieu plus ancien que la fondation d'Alexandrie, " et dont le nom de *Rhacotis* ſubſiſta dans l'un des " deux principaux quartiers de la ville, et eſt encore " employé dans les Dictionnaires Coptes, comme propre " à Alexandrie, bordoit une partie du Grand-Port et le " Port Eunoſte. Tacite (*Hiſtor.* lib. vi. c. 84.) déſigne " cette ſituation en diſant, que le Temple de Sérapis y " avoit été conſtruit, et le lieu élevé, ſur lequel le *Sera-* " *peum* étoit placé, au rapport de Sozomène (lib. vii. " c. 15.) ſe connoît par un tertre, qui porte une tour " de garde ayant vue ſur les ports, et où l'on fait jour- " nellement ſentinelle. Léon d'Afrique (part. viii.), qui " parle de cette tour, eſt bien fondé à dire, *in vero ella* " *no ha ſito naturale*, puiſque Rufin, décrivant le Tem- " ple de Sérapis, qui fut détruit en 389, par Théophile, " Patriarche d'Alexandrie, marque que cet édifice étoit " ſoutenu en l'air par des voûtes." D'ANVILLE, Mémoires ſur l'Egypte, p. 58.

PAGE 91.

ذكر عمود السواري

هذا العمود حجرا احمر منقط وهو من الصوان المانع كان حوله نحو اربعماية عمود كسرها قراجا والي الاسكندرية في ايام السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف ابن ايوب ورماها بشاطي البحر ليوعر علي العدو وسلوكه اذا اقدموا ويذكر ان هذا العمود من جملة اعمدة كانت تحمل رواق ارسطاطاليس الذي كان

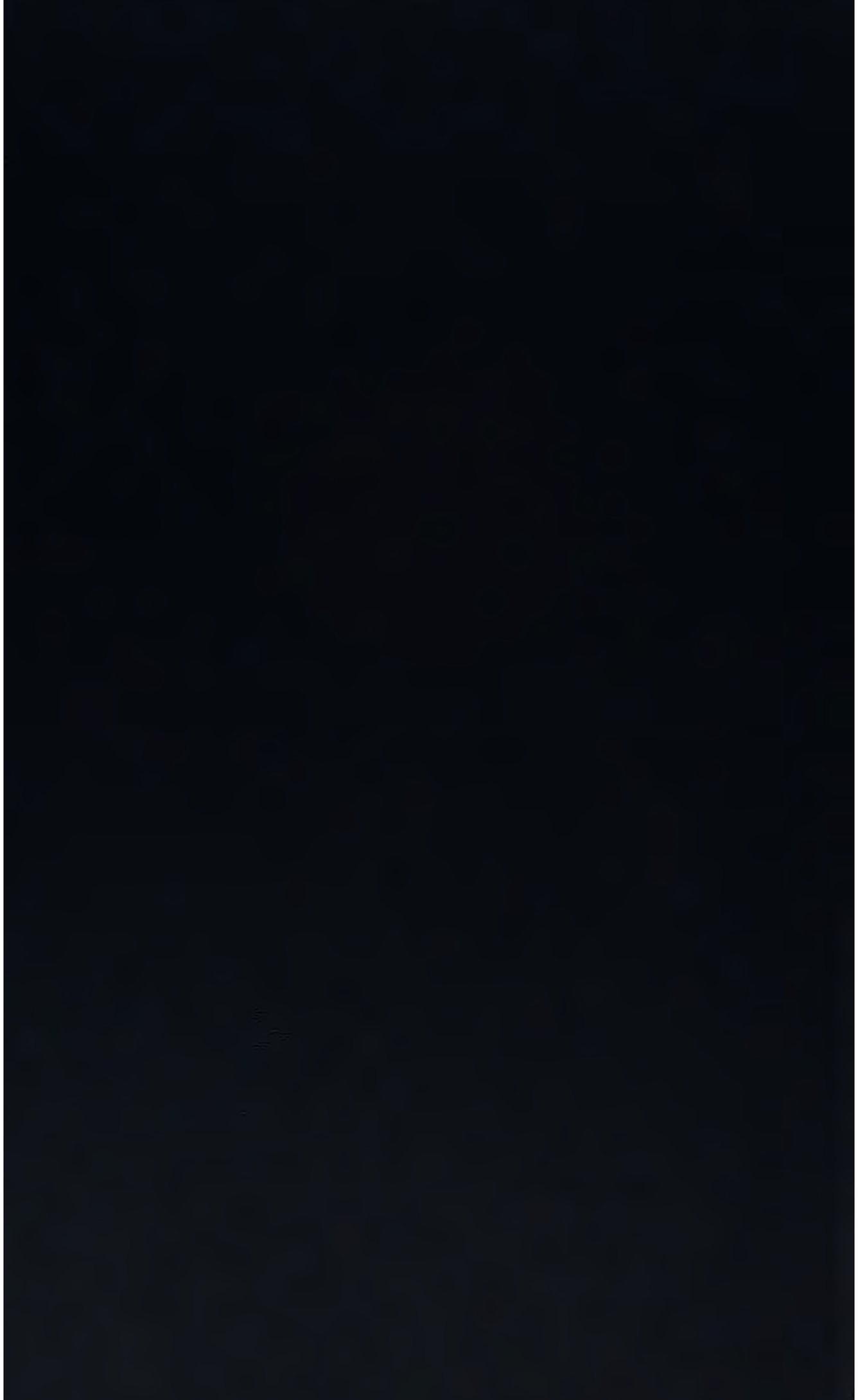
يدرس به الحكمة وانه كان دار علم وفيه خزانة كتب حرقها عمرو بن العاص باشارة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه* —
Ms. Pocock. No. 394. p. 137. Ms. Marsh, No. 149. p. 183.

Page 100.

The χωριον (or lands appropriated for the maintenance of the various ſervices of the Temple) lay probably between the ſame Hill and the rich Port[c] of the Mareotis: and how fertile this tract was, even in the 14th century, we learn from Abulfeda.

وخليج الاسكندرية التي ياتيها من النيل من احسن المنتزهات لانه ضيق محضر الجانبين بالبساتين

" Canalis Alexandriæ, qui ei a Nilo venit, eſt amœnitate " eximius: inter viridaria ab utroque latere, hortis hic " illic diſtincta." Geogr. Ægypt. edit. Michaelis, p. 6.

[c] —— τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαρείας, ἣ καὶ Μαρεῶτις λέγεται· πληροῖ δὲ ταύτην πολλαῖς διώρυξιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ἄνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πολλῷ πλείω τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐσίν· ὥσθ' Ο ΛΙΜΗΝ Ο ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΣ ΥΠΗΡΧΕ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΙΟΥ. Strabo, p. 1142.

END OF PART I.